JOHNSON CITY TN
THE SHERROD LIBR
PERIODICALS
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
TN S L
AUG 2987
SEP 6 - 1985
3791

The Nation.

September 7, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

ORIAL

IE FINKING OF THE PRESIDENT

In the spring of 1980, candidate Ronald Reagan told Robert Scheer of the *Los Angeles Times*, "There was no blacklist of Hollywood." At the time, one attributed that astounding assertion less to a lapse of memory than to a political reflex, a replay of the official industry line during the blacklist years, when studio moguls denied that this intimidating instrument existed but enforced it secretly.

Now it turns out that Reagan was covertly helping the F.B.I., and by extension the House Un-American Activities Committee, compile the list whose existence he would later deny. The *San Jose Mercury News* reported that he was a Bureau informant from 1943 to 1947.

The past few months have seen the death of Albert Maltz, Alvah Bessie and Lester Cole, three of the original Hollywood Ten, who went to prison rather than submit to the antidemocratic forces of the cold war. Another Hollywood figure who died recently, Gale Sondergaard, was the widow of director Herbert Biberman, also a member of the Ten, and was herself subpoenaed as a witness to appear before the House committee. When she wrote the Screen Actors Guild asking it to denounce the committee's attempt to impose a blacklist, Reagan, for SAG's board of directors, replied, 'All participants in the international Communist Party conspiracy against our nation should be exposed."

Latter-day cold-warriors are already trying to justify Reagan's betrayal of his fellow guild members as a patriotic act. But anyone interested in the moral lessons of the blacklist years is advised to study the resistance of people like the Hollywood Ten rather than the opportunism of Ronald Reagan.

PRETORIA AGAINST THE TOWNSHIPS
Eric Rieder

RACISM IN FRANCE—I
Daniel Singer

SAVING DOROTHY SIX
David Morse

THE PRESS & NICARAGUA
George Black

U.S. TERROR STRATEGY
Aryeh Neier

NICARAGUA ROUNDUP
Holly Sklar

THE SEARS CASE

WOMEN'S HISTORY ON TRIAL

JON WIENER

At its trial in June for sex discrimination, Sears, Roebuck & Company offered a novel defense. Attorneys for the nation's largest retailer presented a prizewinning scholar in women's history, Rosalind Rosenberg, as an expert witness. She told the court that history shows women don't want the better-paying jobs at Sears—selling big-ticket goods on commission—because those positions conflict with deeply held values centering on home and family. To rebut Rosenberg's testimony, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enlisted another prizewinning expert on women's history, Alice Kessler-Harris, who argued that despite the existence of an ideology of domesticity, women have consistently taken better-paying jobs when those have been available.

The suit, filed in 1979, is the last of the major antidiscrimination actions brought by the pre-Reagan E.E.O.C. Other big firms charged during the Carter years with sex bias—notably, A.T.&T., General Motors and General Electric—settled out of court, awarding back pay to those discriminated against and pledging to do better. Sears decided to fight.

The complaint covers the years 1973 through 1980. During that period, 60 percent of the applicants for all sales jobs at Sears and 40 percent of those qualified for commission sales posts were women. Only 27 percent of those hired for commission jobs were women, however. Although 72 percent of Sears noncommission salespeople were women, they received only 40 percent of the promotions.

The source of this pattern of discrimination,

(*Continued on Page 176*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

KNEECAPPING DEMOCRACY

Greenlawn, N.Y.

Reese Erlich's editorial should have been titled "Sinn Fein Reports on Itself" ["Sinn Fein Runs," May 4]. Erlich describes not a party that supports terrorists (though efficient and, according to Erlich, humanitarian ones) and that is totally lacking in any democratic mandate but a party that is turning toward "broader-based" community organizing, implying erroneously that Sinn Fein is the first and/or only political group to engage in "progressive" neighborhood activities in Northern Ireland. Erlich mentions Sinn Fein's youth program but ignores its controversial history of vigilante punishment of local youths by "kneecapping."

Let me point out three errors in the editorial: First, Sinn Fein doesn't just support the Irish Republican Army; it is controlled in all essentials by the I.R.A. Second, the "political influence" of the moderate Catholic nationalist Social Democratic and Labor Party (S.D.L.P.)—which some might consider social democratic but which is not a labor party by any stretch of the imagination—has not increased in the past year. Of the three largest parties in Ulster, the S.D.L.P. (which got 18 percent of the first-preference votes) is most on the defensive and most susceptible to a split. (Sinn Fein has consolidated its position as number four, with 12 percent of firsts in the May 15 local government elections, but there are smaller parties whose collective vote comes to 10 percent.) Third, the four parties represented in the Irish Republic's Parliament do not so much oppose Sinn Fein's "radical politics" as they do its terrorism. The Workers' Party, with two seats in Parliament, is perceived to be more socially radical than Sinn Fein yet it is tolerated by the government parties.

Erlich's most dangerous error is in writing of Sinn Fein as if it were a party all progressives could look on at least somewhat favorably. But the I.R.A.'s struggle is about neither national liberation nor anti-imperialism. It is about death-cult obsessive chauvinism with utter contempt for democracy. One should criticize—and change—a society in which so many among its minority population opt for such chauvinism and terrorism. Romantic and clericalist Irish nationalism bears some of the fault for this morass as well. But why support the pro–Sinn Fein minority of this minority in all its demands and accept uncritically its reading of Ulster history so obviously in violation of the first rule of democracy?

The new I.R.A., which, unlike the pre-1960s I.R.A., is openly anticlerical, does not kill Protestants because of religious bigotry but because the Protestant community is essentially similar to the British unionist section of the Irish people. The romantic nationalism of the I.R.A./Sinn Fein can conceive of Ulster unionists only as alien interlopers or, if Irish, as national traitors.

The traditional republican slogan was "Ireland: One Catholic, Gaelic and Free." The new I.R.A. has changed that to "One Socialist, Gaelic and Free." A lot of Irish socialists, north and south, however, don't agree with the contemporary relevance of the I.R.A.'s anti-imperialist, national-lib line. Leftist critics regard this line as a hangover of Catholic revanchism disguised in Marxist language which can only perpetuate virtual civil war in the ranks of the working class. The present I.R.A. (a coalition of old apolitical and right-leaning elements and young ultraleftists, the latter now coming to the fore) split from the reformist, pro-Soviet I.R.A. in 1970. The 1960s I.R.A. subsequently evolved into the Workers' Party. Workers' Party support has declined terribly in the north (1.6 percent in this election) but it is challenging the position of the Labor Party in independent Ireland from the left.

In the June 20 local elections in the south, Labor won 7.9 percent of the vote, the Workers' Party 3.3 percent and Sinn Fein 2.8 percent. But in Dublin, the Workers' Party just edged past Labor to become the third party in the City Council, with 9.7 percent of the vote, compared with 4.7 percent for Sinn Fein.

Robert St-Cyr

ERLICH REPLIES

Oakland, Calif.

In a slightly more sophisticated form, Robert St-Cyr rehashes two of the most common attacks against Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army: they are out to kill Protestants and they are terrorists.

In my interviews with them, Sinn Fein leaders told me they would like to build unity with Protestant workers. It is mainly the reactionary Protestant leaders and the British government who fan religious bigotry. The I.R.A. does not "kill Protestants" as "national traitors," as claimed by St-Cyr. Their armed actions are aimed at police, soldiers and government leaders, not the general Protestant community.

St-Cyr also lashes out at the I.R.A. as being terrorist by referring to it as "death-cult obsessive." The British government maintains Northern Ireland as a colony through force of arms. *Its* terrorism is well documented: jailing opponents without jury trial as well as carrying out torture and assassination. I.R.A. armed actions today are not random or aimed at innocent civilians; they specifically target military, political and corporate targets. Does St-Cyr believe that anyone taking up arms against the British is a death-cult obsessive?

St-Cyr alludes to "leftist critics" of the I.R.A. and writes somewhat favorably of the Workers' Party. The Workers' Party is one of a number of opponents of British colonial rule, but it has specifically rejected armed struggle. However St-Cyr might characterize its program, in the eyes of many in Northern Ireland the Workers' Party is rather a moderate force. It has little popular backing. As to who will lead the Irish independence struggle, that is up to the Irish people. So far, their support for Sinn Fein and the I.R.A. is far greater than for the Workers' Party.

Finally, the results of the May 15 local elections in Northern Ireland validate the main point of my *Nation* article: Sinn Fein's strength is growing. Sinn Fein won 12 percent of the overall vote. By concentrating its efforts in key districts, Sinn Fein won seats in seventeen of twenty-six local councils, won seven Council seats in Belfast and held the majority in Omagh. Far from being an isolated band of terrorists, as the British claim, Sinn Fein is a significant force in Irish politics.

Reese Erlich

HEAVENLY PEACE

New York City

Michael Ferber's "Religious Revival on the Left" [July 6/13] is a welcome comment on the depth of commitment to social change by members of some religious groups. However, in his fascination with the "newness" of this idea, he neglects to mention the historic peace churches, that is, the Mennonites and the Religious Society of Friends, or the Quakers. Our commitment to the goals of peace and social justice is hundreds of years old.

Susan Newcomer

FERBER REPLIES

Washington

Susan Newcomer is right to remind us of the longstanding social witness of the Friends and the Mennonites, which I left out of my article because I was trying to describe something new. She omits the Church of the Brethren. All three peace churches or their agencies are members of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, where I work.

If I may correct a misleading sentence in the article: I wrote that more than 1,300 local congregations have declared their support for sanctuaries for Central American refugees, whereas the actual number of such "support churches" is probably a good deal higher. These congregations offer moral solidarity and material help to the 235 sanctuary churches.

Michael Ferber

CORRECTION

Tony Avirgan's name was misspelled in Alexander Cockburn's column last week. We regret the error.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 241, Number 6

LETTERS
162

EDITORIALS
161 The Finking of the President
163 Spy Dust Memories
164 Labor Day, 1985 *Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers*

COLUMNS
166 Beat the Devil *Alexander Cockburn*
168 Uncivil Liberties *Calvin Trillin*

ARTICLES
161 The Sears Case: Women's History on Trial *Jon Wiener*
169 South Africa's Townships: Crucibles of the Black Rebellion *Eric Rieder*
172 Letter From Europe: The Resistible Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen *Daniel Singer*
174 Reviving the Mon Valley: The Campaign to Save Dorothy Six *David Morse*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
181 Christian: Nicaragua: Revolution In the Family *George Black*
183 McClintock: The American Connection, Volumes One and Two *Aryeh Neier*
185 Reading Nicaragua *Holly Sklar*

Drawings by Kimberly Bulcken Root

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Anthony Borden, Judith Long, Art Winslow; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Micah L. Sifry; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Lee Feinstein, Michael Friedman, Theodore Hirsch, Kyle Kevorkian (Washington), Rosanna Perotti, Mai-Lan Pham, Ulrike Plewnia, Ellen Siff. *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Christopher Bille, Carl Gottesman; *Nation Associates,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publications date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Spy Dust Memories

The Reagan Administration has an odd sense of what constitutes a bargaining chip. A little while ago, it tried to convince a gullible press and a complaisant Congress that the way to achieve strategic arms reduction was to build more exotic and expensive weapons systems and deploy them in threatening locales. Then the President announced that making outer space a theater of war was a sure-fire way to obtain world peace.

The scam this summer involves Reagan's plan to test a new American antisatellite weapon (ASAT), which is apparently part of the antimissile system included in the Star Wars scheme. The Administration is running a short-term arms race against the clock that is ticking toward the November 19 Geneva summit conference with Mikhail Gorbachev. Some gossips on the P.R. end of Missile Command in Washington claim that ASAT, like the other new toys in the Pentagon's exploding arsenal, can then be given away in exchange for, say, the Soviet Union's unconditional surrender or some other generous Communist offer. But ASAT looks much more like a blunderbuss than a chip, and its test-firing this month will surely usher in another terrible phase of the long-term arms race.

The hardware component of Reagan's arms buildup—which has cost $516 billion since he drew up his first budget

The Sherrod Library
East Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
SEP 6 1985

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and is guaranteed to top the trillion-dollar mark before his term is over—is integrated with a sophisticated software system of media manipulation, official double talk and disinformation. Every possibility for arms limitation, control or even negotiation is countered by some specious charge, clumsy gambit or truculent act by the White House. When the Soviet Union announced in late July that it would observe a moratorium on all nuclear testing, at least until the beginning of next year, the Administration refused to reciprocate without first having political discussions and quickly announced its ASAT test program. The Soviet contention that Star Wars testing would violate the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty was answered not with a reasoned discussion but with a countercharge that the Russians were sprinkling U.S. envoys in Moscow with a carcinogenic spy dust.

Pentagon and White House representatives routinely repeat the Chicken Little warning that the Soviet Union is miles ahead of the United States in deterrent and offensive capabilities, that there is a gap in this or that area of technology or field of combat. Developing the ASAT is being justified as a move in the "catch up" game with the Soviet Union. In fact, the Pentagon abandoned one type of antisatellite weapon two decades ago, while the Russians cling to an obsolete model they built to match the primitive U.S. weapon. They stated some years ago that they would not test any improved system.

Gorbachev's announcement of a unilateral moratorium may be the most significant arms control proposal by either superpower since Salt II was signed in 1979. If the United States were to join the test ban, it would fulfill the hope President Kennedy voiced when he signed the limited test ban treaty in 1963. But the Reagan Administration is blinded by the illusion of nuclear superiority and rejects the dream of nuclear peace. "We have to test, and we have to test now," Reagan's P.R. agent, Larry Speakes, told the press, which swallowed the Administration line without even bothering to ask for details of the Soviet initiative. It was widely reported, for instance, that the moratorium was limited to about five months. Actually the Russians said that they would continue the ban indefinitely if the United States joined at any time before January 1.

Despite Speakes's claims, the United States would have nothing to lose, and a world to win, by observing the moratorium. Speakes said that the Russians cannot be trusted because they broke an earlier testing moratorium in 1961, but as Rear Adm. Eugene J. Carroll, retired, of the Center for Defense Information pointed out recently in *The New York Times*, it was President Eisenhower who formally ended that moratorium by announcing that America "considered itself free to resume testing." Nor is there any truth to the charge that the Russians are on the far side of the "test gap." The United States is ahead in the number of tests this year, and over the years it has outstripped the Soviet Union. Reagan wants to test the ASAT because he wants to be in a superior bargaining position at the Geneva summit. That is not a tactic of negotiating from strength but a blueprint for not negotiating at all.

Labor Day, 1985

American workers have little to celebrate this Labor Day. Thirty-three months out of the Reagan recession, the civilian unemployment rate stands at 7.3 percent, a record for this stage in an economic recovery. As usual, the black unemployment rate is twice the national average. The percentages represent 8.4 million officially unemployed American workers; counting discouraged workers and the underemployed, as the official statistics do not, the number of people working less than they want to comes to just under 20 million. These record rates of unemployment are accompanied by record lengths of duration. Over the past two years, the average period of unemployment has been 19.1 weeks, significantly higher than any other two-year average in the postwar period. Unemployment insurance coverage is also near record lows; less than one-third of the unemployed are now receiving benefits, as compared with roughly one-half in the 1970s. Despite this, Congress voted in April to discontinue the Federal supplemental unemployment benefits program initiated during the 1981-82 recession.

Those who are working are not doing so well either. Despite the record-shattering political business cycle engineered by the Reagan Administration, real average gross weekly earnings in 1984 stagnated at levels 12.5 percent below their 1972 peak. Close to 34 million Americans are still living below the poverty line; some 100 million live below the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "low standard city budget for a family of four." With growth slow and jobs vanishing under the pressures of a $150 billion trade deficit, there is little likelihood that the situation will improve substantially any time soon.

Unions are not doing much better. Average first-year wage increases in major private collective bargaining agreements set a record low at 2.4 percent last year, lagging, for the third year in a row, significantly behind inflation. This dismal bargaining performance in part reflects the spectacular decline in union membership over the Reagan years, a decline recently confirmed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which reports a 22.4 percent drop in unionization rates for the private sector from 1980 to 1984. Unions now claim only 15.6 percent of the private sector work force and an even smaller proportion in growth sectors like finance, insurance and real estate (2.7 percent), services (7.2 percent) and wholesale and retail trade (8.2 percent). This membership level cannot even be preserved, let alone strengthened, at the current rate of organizing. In 1984, for the third year in a row, unions organized fewer than 100,000 workers through representational elections before the National Labor Relations Board. Whatever organizing gains unions do achieve, their consolidation requires a credible threat of economic force, but the unions, visibly shaken by their losses over the past few years, are reluctant to risk a strike. As of July, the Bureau of Labor Statistics had reported only eighteen major strikes in the United States (defined as involving at least 1,000 workers and lasting at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

least one shift), the lowest level of strike activity on record. On average, during the 1960s and 1970s there were 285 major strikes per year.

Nor has the Reagan Administration diminished its assault on worker rights. At the N.L.R.B., the antiunion decisions continue. Since Reagan appointee Donald Dotson became chair, unions have lost an average of 57 percent of contested cases decided by the board (compared with 16 percent from 1974 to 1976, under the last Republican-dominated board) and have lost fully 86 percent of the cases brought against them. At the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, as a massive recent study of the agency by the Office of Technology Assessment (O.T.A.) confirms, enforcement levels have slid to a point where they provide virtually no deterrent to violations of the Occupational Safety and Health Act. The O.T.A. estimates, for example, that manufacturers who violate the act can expect, on average, a penalty of only $6.50. (The Administration does occasionally take time out from its attacks on workers to reward its few friends in the labor movement. After waiting a discreet interval after the election, it dropped plans to prosecute International Brotherhood of Teamsters president Jackie Presser, a Reagan loyalist, whose $755,000 annual package of salaries and expenses makes him the best-paid F.B.I. informant in history.)

In all this misery, however, there are a few bright spots. Despite the generally dismal record on organizing, several particularly aggressive and interesting campaigns—including the Federation of University Employees Local 34 drive at Yale University, the Service Employees International Union (S.E.I.U.) Local 100 efforts in Louisiana, and the coordinated campaign of the United Food & Commercial Workers and S.E.I.U. against the giant Beverly nursing home chain—have scored successes. In these drives and others, the unions showed an increasing willingness to coordinate their efforts, to raise "nontraditional" workplace demands and to broaden the scope of organizing efforts beyond the particular work sites in dispute.

Opposition movements continue to build in some of the more corrupt unions. To take one of the most corrupt—the Teamsters—as an example, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (T.D.U.) leader Linda Gregg recently won an important election in Denver Local 435, the largest Teamsters local in the Rocky Mountain region, after Presser had overturned the results of a previous victory; and in July the T.D.U. successfully mobilized Teamster car haulers to reject the terms of Presser's latest sweetheart contract.

Even the A.F.L.-C.I.O. leadership—after squandering three years and untold millions of dollars in an ill-fated effort to elect Walter Mondale as President—showed some signs of life this spring. In *The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions*, the federation's Committee on the Evolution of Work called on the labor movement to increase its internal coordination, develop more aggressive and varied organizing strategies, encourage fuller participation by workers in union affairs, widen the range of issues around which it seeks to mobilize and, significantly, attempt to extend union membership and services to workers outside traditional bargaining units. These, of course, are precisely the sorts of suggestions many on the left have been making to the labor movement for years. It is regrettable that labor's recent catastrophes were required for those suggestions to be heard. It is unfortunate, too, that suggestions regarding internal union democracy, among other things, have still to be heard. And it is true, particularly where the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is concerned, that there is only the most imperfect relationship between words and actions. Still, the report is welcome.

Even more welcome are various efforts under way to contest the stranglehold the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s Washington bureaucracy has long held on organized labor's foreign policy positions. For more than a generation the leadership of the federation has tirelessly promoted the worst aspects of U.S. foreign policy. In the name of free trade unionism it has used the labor movement as a conduit for all manner of moneys and other forms of aid to bolster repressive regimes abroad. In the name of patriotism it has urged on the slaughter of countless union members and their sons in U.S. military adventures. And in the name of democracy it has thrown in its lot with some of the most reactionary and antilabor forces in American domestic politics—as A.F.L.-C.I.O. president Lane Kirkland is doing at the National Endowment for Democracy, where he joins the rabidly antilabor Senator Orrin Hatch in dispensing funds to overthrow the government of Nicaragua—and divided labor from its natural allies among antiwar and anti-intervention movements.

For the first time in recent memory, however, such actions no longer go uncontested in the labor movement. A variety of union groups have formed to protest apartheid, implement a nuclear freeze and commit the United States to a more peaceful course in Central America. These are not marginal political projects that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. bureaucracy can afford to ignore; they involve substantial numbers of established trade unionists. The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, for example, probably the most important of the new groups, whose views stand in sharp opposition to U.S. and traditional A.F.L.-C.I.O. policies in Central America, includes the leaders of half the total membership of U.S. labor unions. Commenting on the committee's work, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union vice president Edward Clark observed, "The days are over when a small group of right-wing staffers in Washington develops foreign policy for the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and gets a rubber stamp from the executive council."

Now *that's* some good news for American labor.

THOMAS FERGUSON AND JOEL ROGERS

Thomas Ferguson is associate professor of government at the University of Texas. Joel Rogers is assistant professor of political science at Rutgers University. They are the authors of Right Turn: The 1984 Election and the Future of American Politics *(forthcoming from Hill & Wang). Their column, "The Political Economy," appears from time to time in* The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Dead Fish, Live Souls

Almost by definition a newspaper prefers to write about the day before yesterday on the ground that the present is too disturbing. In the August 25 *New York Times Magazine*, an exceptionally foolish piece by James Atlas about the "changing world of New York intellectuals" gave the general impression that the most important phenomenon this side of the Rocky Mountains is Hilton Kramer's *New Criterion*. The article's subtitle said that "the old school has been overtaken by dispersal and a drift to the right." Gosh fellows, *a drift to the right*! Hold the front page! The fact of the matter is that the so-called New York intellectuals, both then and now, from William Phillips through Lionel Trilling to Sidney Hook and such comic side acts as Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, were always irrelevant by any realistic measuring of the history of world consciousness or even of culture and politics between the Azores and the Hudson. The lunge of a tiny, self-promoting segment of the New York intelligentsia to the far right is scarcely news today, and Hilton Kramer's miserable little magazine is of interest to only its corporate patrons such as the Smith Richardson Foundation and those who, like Atlas and the editors of *The Times*, wish to sustain the myth that Kramer, Podhoretz and the others represent anything more than a paragraph or two in the history of public relations.

The New Criterion is the only magazine of its kind that actually arrives at the bookstore covered in cobwebs. If Atlas had cared to, he could have found plenty of evidence across the terrain of American political culture that such life as is visible scarcely confirms his thesis. He mentioned *Telos* and *New German Critique*, but why not also mention *Socialist Review*, *Radical History Review*, *October*, *Social Text* or even *New Left Review*, many of whose most interesting young writers are from the United States? Marxist studies in this country are more vigorous than ever before in American history. And this is only to glance at the far left end of the bookshelf. If Atlas had been looking for a New York-based quarterly without Kramer's antediluvian attitudes he could have mentioned Ben Sonnenberg's *Grand Street*.

This is not to say that we have a cultural renaissance going on. The percentage of intellectuals eager to act as cheerleaders for late capitalism is still only a fraction under 100 percent. (Atlas should look at Gramsci's writings on functional intellectuals, since he seems to think that intellectuals as a social group are dissidents by definition.)

In terms of politico-cultural journalism, it seems that the cycle begun by *The Village Voice* in the late 1950s and, at various levels of exploitation and cynicism, carried forward by *Rolling Stone* and even *New York* is now well and truly dead, both in style and content. *New York* has long been without interest even as a model for regional magazines; *Rolling Stone* is a fanzine; and *The Voice* is so spavined with Democratic reform politics and self-regard that it needs crutches to get out to the paddock. The publications that have vitality are poor and semiunderground, still—and perhaps always—at the most basic level of production. Nonetheless, there is more to read in one paragraph of *Rock & Roll Confidential* (P.O. Box 1073, Maywood, NJ 07607) than there is in a whole year's worth of *The New Criterion*. The cultural relations of production may require that the next phase of radical magazines be austere in design and mode of duplication, but there is no harm in that. The experience of *Seven Days*, *Modern Times* (never more than a dream in search of a millionaire) and even *Mother Jones* shows that "high production values," otherwise known as trying to look like a left-wing *Time*, are a criminal waste of money and effort. The Kramers of this world may be able to raise money; *Rolling Stone* and *The Village Voice* may be able to coin revenues for their repugnant proprietors; but the future is not with them but with the semi-*samizdat*.

Disclosure Alert: The summer issue of *Grand Street* contains a long piece by me about my childhood in which I discuss the relevance of Freud's concept of *Heimlichkeit* to a headmaster's study and speak frankly, for the first time, about my life as a transvestite. Yes, *Grand Street*. Order it now from 50 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10024.

The Schlemmer Report

Let us start with the Complacent Young Men With the Mad Staring Eyes. I speak of alumni of *The Dartmouth Review*, namely Gregory Fossedal and Dinesh D'Souza. Fossedal, now on the editorial staff of *The Wall Street Journal*, is the only man in the United States besides Ronald Reagan who believes in Star Wars. Journalists attending a White House briefing about Star Wars recently were startled to find it being given in part by Fossedal, whose newspaper subsequently suggested to him that he decide which hat he preferred to wear. Fossedal chose *The Journal*. He aroused some merriment in a debate earlier this year sponsored by the Fund for Constitutional Government in which he claimed that armored satellites are feasible because weight is irrelevant in space. He apparently forgot that these objects have to get off the ground in the first place.

D'Souza, one of the most assiduous opportunists this side of the Valley Nile, has the good fortune to be an Indian and therefore ripe for right-wing organizations eager to show that they do not discriminate on the basis of color or race. He is now managing editor of the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* and recently wrote a column for the *New York Times* Op-Ed page chiding liberals for inconsistency about trade embargoes when applied to South Africa and the Soviet Union. He trumpeted the Schlemmer report as irrefutable evidence that blacks in South Africa do not favor disinvestment by foreign corporations.

Now, though you can argue the case against disinvestment as a catalyst for revolutionary change in South Africa, you can't cite Schlemmer; but since people like D'Souza constantly do, I should explain why.

Last fall the Reagan Administration, zealous to defend

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

"constructive engagement," drew attention to a State Department–funded survey, conducted by the South African sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of Natal, which purported to show that most black production workers in South Africa supported the "free enterprise system," were unwilling to engage in political strikes and opposed disinvestment by 74 percent. The Botha government greeted this finding with howls of delight. Schlemmer's report was given wide publicity. Given less publicity were the Schlemmer report's fatal flaws, as outlined in the May edition of *South African Labor Bulletin* (Volume 10, number 6, available from P.O. Box 31073, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa).

Schlemmer interviewed 551 black production workers. While 72 percent felt political problems could be solved only by worker action, Schlemmer found that 36 percent of the workers would support a two-week political strike and 19 percent a shorter one (45 percent said they would not support either). So he oddly concluded that most blacks are not inclined to use their labor power for the destruction of the South African economy. But it is stunning that more than one-third of those interviewed would advocate a two-week political strike. Three months after the Schlemmer report was published, nearly 1 million Transvaal workers staged a two-day strike in protest against the apartheid system; the strikers received the support of South Africa's two largest labor federations, which have also endorsed the disinvestment campaign. So the evidence of unfolding history abruptly contradicts Schlemmer's sneers at "well-educated middle class activists" operating at the expense of, or against the interests of, a black rank and file.

Another measure of Schlemmer's rigor is his conclusion that black workers are "accommodating of capitalism" and that "the free enterprise system is dominantly the preferred alternative." Schlemmer deduces these majestic generalities from responses to the question "Think of a country ruled by blacks like Zambia or Kenya. What is best in such a country?" The respondent got three choices: (1) "factories and shops owned by black government"; (2) "factories and shops owned by black businessmen"; (3) "factories and shops owned by anyone who can be successful in business, not only black people." Sixty percent chose the last as the best alternative, while only 18 percent chose the first. Although the question might have offered revealing data about black commitment to nonracialism, Schlemmer took the data as evidence of support for the "free enterprise system." Similar absurdities are evident from the statement in another of Schlemmer's questions: "Whites are strict but they are honest and fair—blacks would not be happier under their own people," to which respondents were asked to agree or disagree. There are four separate statements in that question, to which there are theoretically sixteen possible responses. Furthermore, the statement is invalid because there is no relationship between its first and second half.

On the matter of disinvestment, Schlemmer's deficiencies are particularly glaring. In the first place, his survey was of black male production workers, not black male workers, not black workers and not blacks in general. Only 20 percent of black workers are employed in the manufacturing sector and 38 percent of those are women, so the survey focuses on the attitudes of a group that accounts for less than 13 percent of black workers, lower still if unemployed workers are included. Second (an important consideration given blacks' suspicions of surveys such as Schlemmer's), we get no idea of how many workers refused to cooperate with Schlemmer's interrogators.

Schlemmer's questions to his respondents on disinvestment have all the balance of an Evans and Novak survey in the Midwest about the political appeal of Jack Kemp, in which Novak snarls at a blue-collar householder, "Would you prefer to see sustained growth, personal prosperity and national optimism under the wise guidance of Jack Kemp or starvation and ruin under the no-growth policies of his opponent?" In Schlemmer's case he gave his interviewees a choice between supporting disinvestment as a strategy "to frighten the South African government into getting rid of Apartheid" and supporting foreign investment "because it makes jobs for all people in South Africa." If Schlemmer had presented disinvestment as one of the strategies, along with other domestic and external pressures, that would send apartheid to its grave, he would have got a very different response, rather more in tune with the testimony of the streets about which we read in our papers and which we see on our TV screens every day.

Nausea

"Although some journalists dismiss the new Vanity Fair as an 'upscale People,' others speak of it with more respect." This is a good example of the famous seesaw technique used by mainstream journalists afraid of making a substantive judgment about anything lest they follow the fate of Jane Perlez and end up in an editor's note, admonished for violating standards of fairness.

As a matter of fact I have never heard anyone discuss the new *Vanity Fair* with anything but the loathing and contempt it so richly deserves. The June issue, whose most conspicuous feature was an article by William Buckley Jr. about the love between the Reagans, was one of the most repulsive objects I have ever seen—all the more distasteful because it represented the cynical calculation of *Vanity Fair*'s young English editor, Tina Brown, about what would appeal to the Mortimer's crowd, a thirty-two gallon bin of International White Trash, whose approval she appears to crave. The 31-year-old Brown insisted on attending the session in which the Reagans obediently danced cheek to cheek for the magazine's photographer. *Vanity Fair* is what *The New Yorker* would look like if it was edited in Los Angeles. Such was the accurate description of *Vanity Fair* recently given me by one of its writers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

When the raccoons started getting at the garbage cans this summer, I naturally consulted the man in our town we call the Old Timer. He's the one who told me that we could assure ourselves clear water by keeping a trout in the well, although, as it turned out, I couldn't find a trout except for a smoked trout that some guests from the city brought as a sort of house gift, and I didn't think it would be terribly gracious of me to toss that down the well, even assuming a smoked trout would do the trick. He's also the one who's always saying things like "A porcupine that looks kinda cross-eyed will attack a house cat lickety-split."

"You already tried red onions, have you?" the Old Timer said when I told him about my raccoon problem. I really hate it when the Old Timer asks questions like that. The only acceptable answer is something like "Well, naturally, that's the first thing I did, but for some reason it didn't work; must be the wet spring we had for onions is all I can think of." If, instead, you say, "Well, no . . . ," the Old Timer is going to shake his head for a while without saying anything, as if he's determined not to allow wholesale galloping ignorance to upset him.

"Well, no . . . ," I said when the Old Timer asked me about red onions. He shook his head slowly for so long that I thought he might be having some sort of attack.

Naturally I hadn't tried red onions. I didn't even know what trying red onions meant. Did you festoon each garbage can with red onions, as if you were decorating a squat plastic Christmas tree? Did you plant a semicircle of red onions around the garbage can area the way infantrymen set up a defense perimeter of concertina barbed wire? Did you sit at a darkened window until the patter of little paws indicated that the time had come to fling red onions at approaching raccoons?

What I had tried was tying down the garbage can lids—until, on the morning of the weekly garbage pickup, I found myself unable to get the knots undone and stood there helplessly while the garbage collectors, with a cheerful wave, continued down the road. Then I secured the lids by means of those stretchable cords with hooks on the end of them—I have some for lashing things to the roof rack of the car—but it turned out that the raccoons could pull the lids up far enough to get their tiny paws in there and pull out eighty or ninety square yards of crab shells and melon rinds and milk cartons.

"A raccoon gets ten yards from half a red onion, he'll turn tail and run, sure as shootin'," the Old Timer said.

I hate it when he says "sure as shootin'." I tried red onions anyway, though—cut in half, as the Old Timer had instructed, and placed on top of the lid with the cut side up. The raccoons ate them, except for the skins, which they mixed into some coffee grounds and spread on the rose bush.

I wasn't surprised. The Old Timer is usually wrong. He never admits it, of course. One time, he told us that a scarecrow with a red hat would keep deer out of the garden, sure as shootin'. So we put a scarecrow out there, and put a red hat on it, and the deer came the next night and treated our garden like a salad bar. A neighbor who happened to be awake in the early dawn hours (maybe he was sitting at a darkened window waiting to fling red onions at raccoons) noticed that one of the big bucks was wearing a red hat when it left. I told the Old Timer that the deer had demolished our entire lettuce crop, and he said, "Yup, I suppose they did." When it comes to tempting a normally peaceful person to violence, that Old Timer ranks right up there with raccoons.

In fact, while I was testing my next plan, my wife and daughters told me that I was forbidden to use violence on the raccoons.

"This will only startle them," I said, secretly hoping that it would do a lot more. My plan was to set mousetraps just under the garbage can lids. The raccoons pull up the lids as much as my stretch-cords allow. They stick their little paws in there and feel around, hoping to find some chicken bones with peanut butter on them to spread on the porch. Powee! I should have known that the gang of raccoon apologists I live with would object. A few days before, they had objected when I talked about putting the fish heads I use as crab bait into a bait bag—a heavy mesh bag that keeps the crabs already in the trap from eating up the bait while still more crabs are being attracted. They said it would be cruel and deceitful.

I tried to tell them that there is no way you can be deceitful to a crab. Crabs don't think. ("Hey, this smells like a good fish head. I'll just crawl into this place, even though it seems a little like the place that Uncle Manny crawled into just before he disappeared forever. Hey . . . Hey, wait a minute! I've been deceived!") No bait bags, they said, and no mousetraps.

So I gave it to them straight about raccoons. I told them that raccoons are about the meanest animal around. I happened to know from reading Albert Payson Terhune's books about collies that raccoons drown puppy dogs, just for sport.

"Don't be silly," my wife said. "Raccoons are so cute."

"That's what the puppy dogs think," I said. And puppy dogs do think, all the time. ("Hey, these cute little guys want to play in the water. This is fun! Hey . . . Hey, I've been de——glub, glub, glub.")

It was no use. They wouldn't give in. That's why I finally used a padlock on my garbage cans. I wanted to use a key lock, but the Old Timer said that a raccoon could pick a key lock nine times out of ten.

"He's probably wrong," I said to my wife.

"Maybe not," she said. "He didn't say 'sure as shootin'.'"

So I put on a combination lock, on the advice of the Old Timer. He said, "A raccoon's cunning, but he's got no head for figures."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TOWNSHIPS

Crucibles of the Black Rebellion

ERIC RIEDER

What is most remarkable about the past year's wave of black protest across South Africa is its spread into quiescent rural towns. Steytlerville, a sheep-farming town of around 3,000 in the dusty plains of the Eastern Cape, is a case in point. Many of the residents of its black township migrate to jobs in Port Elizabeth, one hundred miles away, but they are unsophisticated people, more comfortable speaking their tribal language of Xhosa than English, still a little awed by the presence of visitors from the big coastal cities. Throughout most of its history, Steytlerville has remained largely untouched by the bursts of activism among South African blacks.

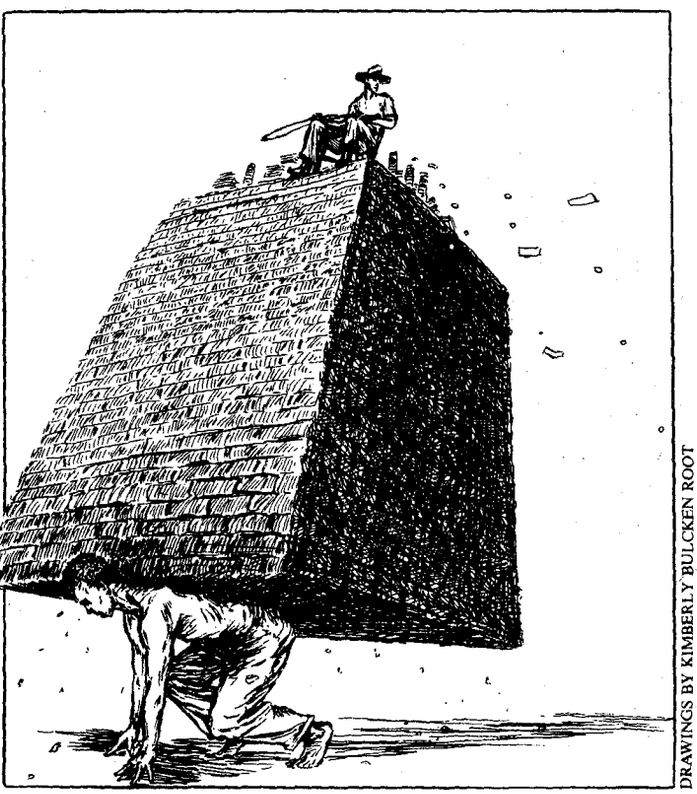
In recent months, however, the young blacks of Steytlerville have begun to organize. Mzwandile Miggels, a 20-year-old with politically active friends in nearby towns, helped form a youth group. On July 3, the members held a memorial demonstration for four murdered black leaders from the town of Cradock, 125 miles away. Police dispersed the marchers with tear gas, and later that night entered the black township. There were no witnesses, but gunshots were heard. Miggels was wounded. Police arrested him and 12-year-old Johannes Spogter, and packed them in a van. Miggels died that day; Spogter died two days later in a police cell.

The local blacks decided to hold a political funeral for the two youths on July 13. Such ceremonies have become common in the coastal cities of the Eastern Cape and the sprawling townships around Johannesburg, but Steytlerville had never had one. Although the older blacks were nervous, fearing more trouble from the police, the younger people insisted that the service place the victims' death in a broader political context. A crowd of 500 attended. A dozen teenagers served as pallbearers, taking turns standing by the coffins with their right arms raised and their fists clenched in the black power salute. Banners hoisted above the crowd extolled the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.), the largest active antiapartheid group in the country, and the outlawed African National Congress (A.N.C.). Mourners sang an old Xhosa hymn, but with new words, imploring Oliver Tambo, the Congress's leader-in-exile, to bring them guns. A leader of the group Miggels had helped found told the crowd: "Steytlerville will never be the same. I will say it again. Steytlerville will never be the same."

The spread of black protest to tiny towns like Steytlerville reflects the extraordinary upsurge of activism that reached new levels of anger and cohesion in the weeks preceding President P.W. Botha's July 20 proclamation of a state of emergency. Across the Eastern Cape, black townships spawned residents' associations that fought rent increases and youth groups that staged school boycotts. A black consumer boycott of white-owned stores, successful in several small towns, began in Port Elizabeth on July 16, with an immediate and devastating impact on white merchants. Police brutality led to energetic political rallies for the dead, as in Steytlerville, further politicizing the townships.

On the morning of July 20, white South Africans on the Eastern Cape had more reason than ever to be aware of two significant and increasingly interrelated phenomena: their dependence on blacks as customers and workers, and the growing mobilization in the townships. From the newspapers they knew that some 50,000 blacks were gathering for the funeral of the four activists from Cradock. And in town they learned that, as a result, the black employees on whom they relied were staying away from work that day. I spent the night of July 19 in Graaff-Reinet, ninety miles from Cradock. Before leaving for the funeral the next morning, I asked for breakfast at the hotel. The owner told me the kitchen was closed. "No one came to work," he shrugged. "They all went to the U.D.F. funeral. What can I do?"

For Botha's administration, the only hope to quell the turbulence was that massive repression, in the form of a vast



DRAWINGS BY KIMBERLY BULCKEN ROOT

Eric Rieder, a law clerk for a U.S. appeals judge, spent seven weeks working with human rights lawyers in South Africa this summer on a grant from Columbia Law School's human rights internship program.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

roundup of activists and an even freer hand for the police and army in the townships, could do what the brutality so far had been unable to: cow blacks and crush the mobilization. The strategy of all-out repression, conveyed clearly between the lines in Botha's August 15 address to a National Party congress, has worked before—in 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre, for example—but it is evident, as a U.S. State Department study released in July found, that although black activism is still not in a revolutionary or prerevolutionary stage, it has risen to its highest level ever.

It is also evident that this strategy was not the government's preferred means of dealing with black unrest. Not only could the declaration of emergency cause foreign capital to flee, as it did in 1960, and increase the possibility of international economic sanctions; more important, it marked the failure of the government's carefully crafted plan to defuse black protest and international pressure without surrendering white control of the country.

A year ago that plan seemed viable. It had two central elements. First was the program of "reform." This was embodied in the new Constitution creating powerless houses of Parliament for Asians and South Africans of mixed race; in the abolition of certain race laws that were unnecessary for maintaining white domination, such as the ban on interracial sex; and in a willingness to accept some continuing black presence outside the homelands, together with a nebulous promise to negotiate some form of black participation that would preserve white political and economic dominance. Second was the conclusion of agreements by which black states bordering South Africa pledged not to harbor A.N.C. guerrillas. These agreements, most notably the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique in March 1984, appeared to augur the demise of the African National Congress, which since the late 1960s had carried on a low-level campaign of sporadic bombings of hard targets in South Africa such as utilities and office buildings.

Instead of placating opponents, however, the reform program only intensified the resistance. "The reforms continue to exclude the millions of blacks," says Di Bishop, an opposition member of the Cape provincial assembly, "but they have raised expectations." The United Democratic Front, formed in 1983 to oppose the tricameral Parliament, attracted a large following, especially in the Eastern Cape and the townships of the East Rand near Johannesburg. As for the A.N.C., it displayed a surprising resilience. Unable to operate secure guerrilla bases outside South Africa's borders, it developed a capacity to recruit and train members inside the country, according to Tom Lodge, an authority on African politics who teaches at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg. The A.N.C. also stepped up the violence. Pretoria's Institute of Strategic Studies attributed forty attacks to the A.N.C. in all of 1984; the same number occurred in the first half of 1985.

The A.N.C. also saw progress made in its long-term strategy to make South Africa's townships ungovernable by attacks on black officials, aimed at forcing whites to carry out all the enforcement jobs themselves and thus weakening the government by overextending it. In recent months dozens of black policemen have been beaten and their houses burned; at least twelve have been reported killed. The system of black administration of the townships, which Botha inaugurated in 1983, has collapsed, with an estimated 240 of the black community councilors resigning. Moreover, the government has begun to rely heavily on the army to help police the townships, and the draft has been extended to new immigrants and to citizens as old as 55, who are known as "Dad's army."

The role of the A.N.C. in the townships is not clear. The State Department study concluded it did not exert a controlling influence on the activists involved in the unrest. And Lodge says that in urging attacks on collaborators, the organization may have been responding to the angry mood among young blacks rather than initiating it. Nevertheless, he says, the group has "succeeded in re-establishing itself as the center of gravity in black politics within South Africa." This is borne out in the pervasive invocation of its symbols at funerals, the only public forum for black activism. Coffins are draped in the black, green and gold of the A.N.C. flag, and hundreds of mourners sport the colors in dresses or in ribbons on their lapels. The group's leaders, especially the imprisoned Nelson Mandela and leader-in-exile Tambo, enjoy an almost mythic status, as does its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation. Almost every mourner seems to know the words of the numerous songs and chants honoring them. This outpouring of support is all the more striking when one considers that the A.N.C. has been banned in South Africa for twenty-five years and that anyone who endorses its aims, let alone becomes a member, can be charged with treason and other criminal acts.

A year ago, the government could also take solace in the philosophical division between the United Democratic Front, which favors coalitions with whites, and the Azanian People's Organization, or Azapo, which rejects white participation. Azapo members disrupted Senator Edward Kennedy's South African tour, and some of its members have clashed bitterly with U.D.F. supporters on the Eastern Cape. But by this summer the U.D.F. had asserted itself as the dominant force and, with at least 600 affiliate organizations and a following of at least 1.5 million, the more popular. At Cradock, as at many of the funeral rallies, U.D.F. T-shirts and banners were prominently displayed, while Azapo was almost invisible.

To be sure, not all the weaknesses that have handicapped black resistance in the past have been overcome. The unity in the Eastern Cape reflects in part that region's distinctive political position. In Natal Province, though, there is deep hostility between supporters of the U.D.F. and the Inkatha Movement of Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who presents himself as a moderate foe of apartheid but is decried as a government apologist by many black leaders. Earlier this month that rivalry erupted in the year's most brutal violence, in the townships surrounding Durban. Natal was also the scene of seemingly mindless violence against Indians, a blow to opposition forces because Indians and people of mixed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

race have generally been supportive of the U.D.F.'s campaign against participation in the tricameral Parliament.

Despite the splits in the opposition dramatized by the events in Durban, the government's basic problem remains: how to quiet the townships without sacrificing a significant amount of white power. The government continues to say it will institute reforms, but the emptiness of that promise has been exposed, and even the Reagan Administration seems embarrassed in trying to defend those reforms as significant. Indeed, the Pretoria leadership appears to have concluded that selling reform is not worth the effort. What was most striking about Botha's recent speech was not the lack of substantive proposals for change—that there would be none was a foregone conclusion even among many moderate opposition figures—but the fact that he made no attempt to hide it. As if to underline the point, in a twenty-four-hour period beginning the day after the speech, police detained 152 persons in one of the largest sweeps since the emergency began.

In the United States, the speech brought into sharp focus the path down which Botha stands ready to lead white South Africans. Considering the far greater numbers of blacks, this course seems almost suicidal to some. The prospect that repression could succeed, however, should not be underestimated. South Africa's army is strong, as is its police force. By most accounts, blacks in South Africa are virtually unarmed, and they do not pose an immediate threat to the government. The mass arrests have badly hurt the U.D.F. It was operating under a disadvantage even before the emergency because thirty-eight of its national leaders are awaiting trial for treason, and the proceedings could drag on for at least two years. As the number detained under the emergency passed the 2,000 mark, with roughly half still in custody, the preponderance of those arrested were local members of U.D.F. affiliates such as the Congress of South African Students. Other activists have gone underground to evade capture. In the week after the emergency was declared, the U.D.F. offices in downtown Johannesburg were deserted.

Botha's course also carries serious risks. The detention of the U.D.F. leadership may inhibit cohesive action, but it removes a stabilizing force in the ranks of the opposition. Bishop Desmond Tutu's peacemaking efforts have received wide publicity, and he remains active. But many of his local counterparts, respected nonviolent activist clerics like the Rev. Hamilton Dandala of Port Elizabeth and the Rev. De Villiers Soga of Utinhage, were among the first to be detained under the emergency. Without people like them the unrest is likely to grow more destructive.

The government cannot arrest every angry young black, and those who remain outside are almost certain to seek some outlet for their displeasure—an eventuality on which A.N.C. strategists no doubt rely, considering their recruiting gains after the post-Soweto crackdown of 1976. There is always the possibility that all that anger may simply dissipate in exhausted resignation, and life in the townships may return to what the authorities would call normal. But those who hope for such a scenario should consider the

BEAT THE EMBARGO

RONALD REAGAN WON'T LET NICARAGUA BUY TRACTOR PARTS

SO GREGORIO LOPEZ ANDINO MAKES THEM

Gregorio is a student machinist at the *Luis Hernandez Aguilar* School of Agricultural Mechanization in Nicaragua, where he's learning by doing — fixing the machines that feed his people.

"It's important," he says simply. "It's the only way my country will ever be independent."

You Can Help

LHA is a Nicaraguan school, but Gregorio's teachers are American volunteers. The machine shop — Gregorio's classroom — was built with contributions of tools, time, and money from thousands of other Americans.

Now, LHA needs your help too. With the embargo, the demand for the School's repair services has tripled. To meet this challenge, LHA needs new tools, a bigger shop, and more students.

The embargo doesn't prohibit your gift of dollars to the LHA School Fund. Please, **now**, make a generous contribution. Help Nicaragua beat the embargo.

YES! Here is my tax-deductible contribution of:

☐ $50 ☐ $100 ☐ $250 ☐ $ _____

to the LHA School Fund to buy scholarships, tools, and supplies for the *Luis Hernandez Aguilar* School in Nicaragua.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

☐ Please send me more information about the LHA School.

Clip & mail to: LHA School Fund, Box 43287, Washington, DC 20010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

warning, issued by the orator at Mzwandile Miggels's funeral, that, no, Steytlerville will never be the same. □

LETTER FROM EUROPE

The Resistible Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen

DANIEL SINGER

Paris

History, *pace* Hegel and Marx, need not repeat itself as farce. When the French right blames bloody immigrants and the Reds in the Mitterrand government for growing unemployment, memories of the 1930s send shivers down the spine. Admittedly, the jobless are not as numerous today as they were then and their fate is not quite the same. There are also some encouraging signs of reaction on the left—for example, the Woodstock-like rally in the heart of Paris on June 15 which drew some 300,000 youngsters to the Place de la Concorde to listen to rock groups and comedians under the antiracist banner of the "Hands off my pal" campaign. But before assessing the possibilities of a reversal, one must look at the grim tide itself, and especially at Jean-Marie Le Pen, the man whose name is synonymous with the recent revival of overt racism in French politics and society.

He no longer wears a black patch over his left eye, which he lost in a political brawl. It made him look less like a pirate than like the thug he has been throughout his adult life. Smiling, smartly dressed, he now seems—particularly on television, where he is on his best behavior—a frank and reasonable fellow saying aloud "what everybody really believes," telling people "what they already know," a man who merely echoes the basic precept of that great American Ronald Reagan: namely, that communism is the root of all evil. A red-faced, rather fat man who warns the "silent majority" against muggers, drug addicts, gays and crypto-pinkos, Le Pen might be described as a sort of French Spiro Agnew preaching law and order, except that he is not of Greek or any other foreign extraction. That is an important difference, because the man and the movement he leads, the National Front, trumpet the slogan "Frenchmen First" and spread the fairy tale that everything would be fine in the streets and hospitals, in the schools and even the factories were it not for the foreign hordes invading France, particularly those crossing the Mediterranean. France would be just marvelous without Marxists, Arabs and other aliens.

Jean-Marie Le Pen was born fifty-seven years ago in Brittany. The orphaned son of a fisherman, he came to Paris to study law and rapidly became notorious in the Latin Quarter as a Red-baiter and an active participant in drunken or political brawls. He completed his education as a soldier, going to Indochina with the paratroopers of the Foreign Legion after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. At the age of 26 and back in Paris, he was elected to Parliament as a member of a political movement whose rise helps us understand the current success of the National Front.

The 1950s in France saw the beginning of mass migration from the countryside and of industrial as well as commercial concentration in the cities. Since nobody likes to be eliminated, even in the name of economic progress, the traders, craftsmen and other victims of the squeeze rebelled. Their discontent was exploited by a shopkeeper from southern France who cleverly put the blame for their misfortunes on eggheads, tax collectors and Jewish-owned big business. His name was Pierre Poujade. To everybody's surprise, his movement, a seven-day wonder, gained nearly 11 percent of the vote in the 1956 elections and more than two score deputies. Le Pen, an unscrupulous but efficient demagogue, was for a while Poujade's lieutenant, and in the Parliament he expressed his distaste for racial impurity with this oft-quoted apostrophe to Prime Minister Pierre Mendès-France, a Jew: "You crystallize in your person a certain number of patriotic and almost physical repulsions."

In 1957, a year after the elections, Le Pen split with Poujade and turned his attention to the colonial war in Algeria, volunteering for service as a paratrooper. Herein lies another clue to his present support: he has the backing of European settlers who fled to France when Algeria won its independence. Recently a skeleton was taken out of his closet: *Le Canard Enchaîné* provided chapter and verse showing that, among other exploits, Le Pen had been an active performer in the torture chamber at the notorious Villa Susini, in Algeria, where instruments ranged from old-fashioned whips to modern electrical gadgets. A story in *Liberation*, drawing on Algerian witnesses, accused him of acting as an executioner. Le Pen sued both publications for libel, but they won. The judge reasoned that you couldn't defend the principle of the use of torture in Algeria, as Le Pen had done, and be libeled when accused of putting the principle into practice. Le Pen had argued not that the facts were wrong but that his honor had been impugned.

For the extreme right the war in Algeria was a high-water mark. The chief beneficiary of their struggle, however, was Gen. Charles de Gaulle, who took advantage of the 1958 political crisis to bring down the tottering Fourth Republic. When he sought to extricate himself from the colonial mess, the European settlers in Algeria and the military barons who had made him king felt betrayed. They formed the Secret Army Organization (O.A.S.) and succeeded in spreading terror in Algeria and even in exporting it to France. The tide of popular opinion was flowing against the O.A.S., however, and Le Pen was clever enough not to tie himself too closely to a loser. But there was no doubt about his feelings. In 1965, three years after Algeria won independence, he served as campaign manager for Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignacourt, a presidential candidate who sought to unite the mourners of *Algerie Française* with older fragments of French reaction. Tixier-Vignacourt, who had been the chief

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s correspondent in Europe.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attorney for the O.A.S. leaders and a former junior minister in Marshal Petain's Vichy government during World War II, symbolized the union of colonialism and collaboration. This mixture brought him no more than 5 percent of the votes cast, the high point of the far right's support for several years to come.

For Le Pen those were lean years. Having lost his seat in the National Assembly, he had to earn a living. With some colleagues, he set up a company specializing in historical phonograph records, mainly of military songs. They were sued and fined under France's antiracist laws because the liner notes on an album of Nazi songs described Hitler's movement as "on the whole popular and democratic." Politically, things were hardly better. Fascist thugs were swept out of their favorite Latin Quarter haunts by the mass student movement in 1968. Four years later the various extremist sects of the right merged to form the National Front. Le Pen, the least disreputable of the lot, was chosen to be their leader, but their electoral strength was still measured in fractions of a percentage point.

Then came a stroke of good fortune. A degenerate, or shall we say worthy, heir of an industrial empire (the Lambert cement company) died young, leaving his fortune to the leader of the National Front. Part of the family wanted to fight the will on the ground that its author was of unsound mind, but an out-of-court settlement in 1977 gave Le Pen a mansion on the outskirts of Paris and enough money not to have to worry about financial matters. In fairness, it should be said that prosperity did not weaken his political appetite, though the fat years were still to come. In the 1974 presidential poll, won narrowly by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Le Pen obtained 0.75 percent of the vote. Seven years later, when François Mitterrand triumphed, Le Pen could not even find the number of elected officials required in France to sponsor a presidential candidacy. The economic crisis of the 1970s helped spread xenophobia, preparing the ground for the National Front. But the victory of the left in the 1981 elections and its subsequent failure to cope with the crisis was necessary before Le Pen could take off.

The French right, deprived of the spoils after twenty-three years in office, was desperate to return to power. When the euphoria of the Socialist victory dissipated after a year, the right hit back without scruple, pandering to fears and prejudices. After a quarter-century of heedless urban development, the cities were coming apart at the seams. Growing unemployment had, predictably, fostered petty crime and a general feeling of insecurity. These were attributed to the left and its "lax" Minister of Justice, Robert Badinter, in particular. Although during the previous two decades the right had presided over the mass importation of cheap foreign labor, it placed blame for the immigrants "grabbing your jobs" squarely on the shoulders of France's "Marxist" rulers. It is well known, after all, that the "Reds," like the Labor Party in Britain, liberals in the United States and Socialists in France, are nigger, Jew and Arab lovers.

Orthodox conservatives, however unscrupulous, are not champions at this game. The National Front always stoops lower than they do. While conservatives criticize the Minister of Justice, the newspaper of the front writes that he is "always for the marginal and against a society that had for a long time rejected the Badinters," and the reader translates: bloody foreign Jews. While the right talks of unemployment, the front invents the absurd but eloquent equation "2 million immigrant workers = 2 million unemployed Frenchmen." And Le Pen speaks of invaders "who want to sleep in my bed, with my wife."

In the local elections of March 1983, the main theme was law and order. The National Front was probably the chief beneficiary of this issue, scoring well for the first time in many urban areas. Le Pen himself was elected to one of the twenty town halls of Paris. The turning point, however, came six months later, in the battle of Dreux, a small town northwest of Paris [see Singer, "The Rise of the Nouveaux Liberals," *The Nation*, November 12, 1983]. The original vote was so close that another poll was ordered, and the National Front, with an openly racist platform, managed to capture 16.7 percent of the first-round vote. That was bad enough, but there was worse to come. As no side had gained an absolute majority, a second round was required, and between ballots the "respectable" right welcomed members of the front on its own list of candidates. It was as if the Republican Party had made a deal to have Ku Klux Klan candidates on its ticket. Racism rewarded.

It must be granted that not all conservative politicians approved of this squalid arrangement. Simone Veil, a former president of the European Parliament and a survivor of a Nazi concentration camp, said that had she been a voter in Dreux, she would have abstained. Yet she did not resign from her party or from the right-wing coalition whose main

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders—the very distinguished Raymond Barre, Jacques Chirac and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing—did not share her distaste. The late Raymond Aron, the famous sociologist who is now being hailed as a paragon of democratic conservatism, sided at the time with those who argued that to have four "quasi-fascist" councilors in Dreux was nothing compared with having four "Red fascists"—read Communist ministers—in the government. As Mark Antony would have put it, these are "honorable men"; indeed, one of them is certain to be the next conservative candidate for the presidency.

The label of respectability bestowed on the front had its obvious consequences. Its rating in opinion polls rose sharply. Le Pen became a popular guest on the talk shows and proved to be a clever performer. He knows how to hold back on television and then let loose at rallies of his own supporters. The reward came in June of last year. In the elections for the European Parliament the front obtained nearly 11 percent of the vote (like Poujade in his time): that is to say, almost as much as the Communist Party. Ten National Front deputies now sit in the European assembly, next to their Italian comrades from Giorgio Almirante's neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement.

Nor was it a flash in the pan, as some had hoped, on the assumption that voters do not much care who sits in the European Parliament. In regional elections held earlier this year the front roughly equaled its June score, considering it did not put up candidates throughout the country. Indeed, it polled 20 to 30 percent of the vote in some towns on the French Riviera, in Marseilles and in Montpellier. It did exceptionally well in regions where most of the French refugees from Algeria have settled. Now that the voting system for parliamentary elections has been switched to proportional representation, Le Pen and his gang are bound to win seats in the National Assembly next March. Indeed, some Socialists are relying on the threat of this to prevent a clear-cut verdict for the "respectable" right.

The entry of avowed racists into the French Parliament is not in itself the worst prospect. As the old saying goes, you don't bring the temperature down by breaking the thermometer. I am not even most shocked that in France today one person out of ten, one out of five in many places, votes for a party whose leader is an open defender of apartheid and an admirer of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. More worrisome is the underlying ideological shift to the right, the radical metamorphosis of the substance and form of political debate, of which this plague is only a symptom.

It will be objected that this is merely a revival, that anti-Semitism in France goes back to the last century, to the Dreyfus case and beyond, that in the 1930s fascism paraded openly and racism was incomparably more virulent. True, but that was before the Holocaust. After that, for some thirty-five years, people didn't dare speak, or even think, in quite the same terms. Now they do again. Yesterday they had to say, I am not a racist but. . . . Today they no longer take the precaution. And apparently decent people echo Le Pen almost unawares. To paraphrase Brecht, the "filthy beast" was not killed off in Nazi Germany. If we don't keep a watchful eye, it will pounce back on the political stage wherever it gets an opportunity.

In my next letter I will look at the fact and fiction behind the immigration figures, at the cowardly surrender of the left and its real problems and at the hopeful signs of a change of tide. History, after all, need not repeat itself as tragedy either. □

REVIVING THE MON VALLEY

The Campaign to Save Dorothy Six

DAVID MORSE

To U.S. Steel, Dorothy Six is just another blast furnace that the company cannot operate profitably and plans to dynamite and use for scrap. The company has decided to dismantle the entire "hot end" of its Duquesne, Pennsylvania, works—the big No. 6 blast furnace, the basic oxygen process shop and the primary rolling mill, which is used to roll ingots into steel slabs—to make way for an industrial park.

To a growing coalition of trade unionists and community organizers in the steel valleys surrounding Pittsburgh, Dorothy Six is a symbol of local and regional self-determination. Built in 1966, Dorothy was the biggest and most productive furnace in the valley, turning out 5,000 tons of crude steel a day. It stands more than one hundred feet tall and has a hearth eleven feet in diameter. Only weeks before it was shut down in May 1984, Dorothy was awarded the company's Iron Master Award for breaking production records. In its heyday, 8,000 were employed at the Duquesne Works. Idled, the blast furnace symbolizes the region's wasted resources.

Local activists have devised a plan for worker ownership of Duquesne's hot end, which they say would restore from 500 to 1,000 jobs immediately and help reverse the process of decay that has ravaged the Monongahela Valley. (After the Duquesne Works shut down, employment at Homestead, a downstream mill, dropped from 3,000 to 1,000 in six months. The American Iron and Steel Institute estimates that every job in a steel mill generates three to four jobs upstream and downstream.) Cars in Duquesne display bumper stickers that read "SAVE DOROTHY. SAVE JOBS."

"We see this as striking a blow against disinvestment and capital flight," says steelworker Mike Stout, who is head of the grievance committee for Homestead Local 1397 of the United Steelworkers of America. Stout is also active in the Tri-State Conference on Steel, a grass-roots think tank made up mainly of former steelworkers, which has come up

David Morse, who is completing a book on the steel industry, recently returned from a trip to study the industry in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with an ambitious plan for saving Dorothy and other potentially usable facilities.

The razing of Dorothy Six would leave only a smaller furnace at the nearby Edgar Thompson Works to supply the slabs that are the lifeblood of the steelmaking complex that sprawls along the Monongahela River, where fifteen blast furnaces used to operate. U.S. Steel's haste to demolish a blast furnace as productive as Dorothy intensifies suspicions that the nation's biggest steel company plans to pull out of the Mon Valley entirely.

U.S. Steel's withdrawal from all but the most profitable of its steelmaking operations was cited as a classic case of disinvestment in Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison's book *The Deindustrialization of America*. In 1980, eight U.S. Steel plants in the Mon Valley employed a total of 22,500 members of the United Steelworkers of America; today, that work force has been whittled down to about 5,200. The U.S.W. points out that although workers gave up $1 billion in concessions for the first two years of the 1983 labor agreement, the company invested only $7 million in operations in the valley. U.S. Steel put its money in newer, more cost-effective mills in Fairfield, Alabama, and Gary, Indiana, as well as in more profitable nonsteel ventures—oil, real estate, engineering and financial services—which last year accounted for roughly two-thirds of the company's revenues.

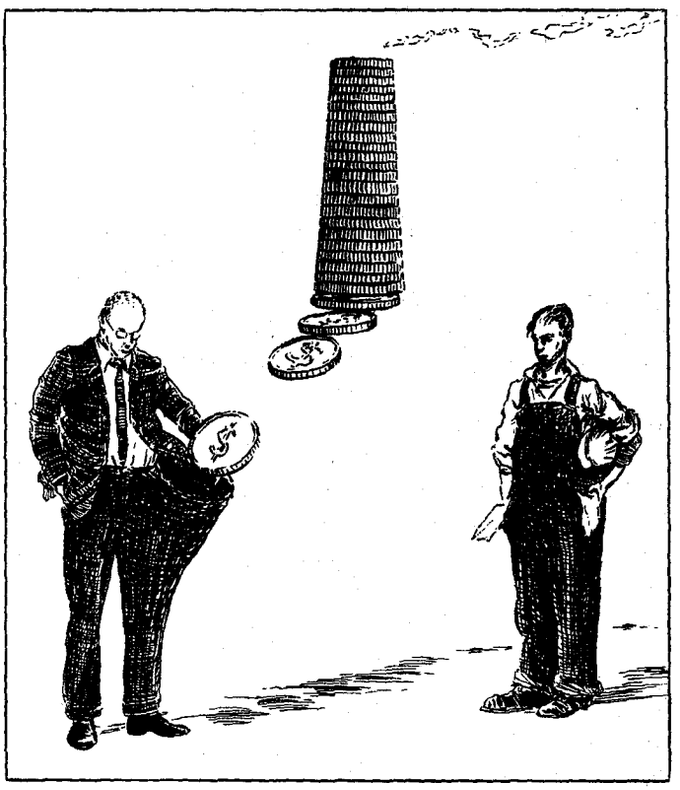
For the past twenty years, profitability in the American steel industry has seldom risen above 8.5 percent. Yet U.S. Steel's chairman of the board, David Roderick, told a Pittsburgh audience that the company must make an 18 to 20 percent profit on Dorothy Six if it is to be worth saving. That was virtually an admission that the company is getting out of basic steel. U.S. Steel would rather import slabs from abroad than invest in the Mon Valley. So the Mon Valley workers ask, If U.S. Steel doesn't want to make steel, why not sell the mill to us? To that end, the Tri-State Conference on Steel has called for the creation of a Steel Valley Authority which would acquire the furnace by eminent domain.

U.S. Steel remains intransigent, however. The company spurned worker efforts to save its Youngstown, Ohio, plant six years ago and closed it down, eliminating 3,500 jobs. It refused to cooperate with two feasibility studies on Dorothy Six conducted by Locker/Abrecht Associates and by Lazard Frères & Company and Russell, Rea & Zappala. Both reports were positive. The latter study concluded there was a ready U.S. market for Dorothy's slabs, though the facility should be upgraded with a continuous caster. The caster, estimated to cost somewhere between $40 million and $70 million, would assure the plant a competitive position in the market.

The company postponed the deadline for demolition four times after the U.S.W. International and local officials, including the powerful Allegheny County commissioners, intervened. The fate of Dorothy Six is still uncertain. Despite assurances from U.S. Steel that it will meet with the county commissioners prior to demolishing the facility, the union local has posted guards to make sure that the company does not begin dismantling the plant surreptitiously. Workers are receiving training in nonviolent civil disobedience. "They'll have to roll their bulldozers over our bodies," one worker told me.

In the meantime, the movement to save Dorothy Six is gathering momentum. A coalition of local trade unionists, clergy and community groups under the loose leadership of the Tri-State Conference on Steel has won the support of the U.S.W. International, which is headquartered in Pittsburgh, and of a growing number of state legislators. The coalition has repudiated the confrontational tactics of the Denominational Ministry Strategy, a group of radical clergymen known for throwing skunk oil in affluent churches, and has made the most of its working-class roots [see Sid Plotkin and Bill Scheuerman, "Lessons of the Pastor Roth Affair," *The Nation*, February 23]. Consequently, it is gaining support from the political mainstream. Most of the towns in the Mon Valley as well as the Pittsburgh City Council have passed resolutions supporting the Steel Valley Authority envisioned by the Tri-State Conference. And a bill has been introduced in the Pennsylvania State Legislature that would circumvent possible court challenges to the Steel Valley Authority's use of eminent domain. Jim Benn, director of the Tri-State Conference, is guardedly optimistic about the outcome.

The concept of a Steel Valley Authority is a novel one, with important implications for smokestack America. Some Tri-State Conference members, including labor lawyer Staunton Lynd, have learned through bitter experience at Youngstown that the power of eminent domain is the most appropriate legal tool against an obstinate company. In theory, each town has this power, but companies pit one town against another by threatening local shutdowns and exercising their influence in town councils. Tri-State Con-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ference members realize that the problem of disinvestment is regional, affecting parts of western Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio, so for four years they have pushed for a regional Steel Valley Authority. When Duquesne shut down and U.S. Steel announced its decision to demolish Dorothy Six, the Tri-State Conference was ready to play a leading role in the campaign to save the plant.

The plan it came up with is a fairly simple one. Dorothy Six would be taken over by the Steel Valley Authority, which would pay U.S. Steel a fair market value for the property. Once acquired, the plant could be brokered to a third party—an outside buyer committed to upgrading the facility—or it could be operated by workers under an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP). In the case of the latter, articles of incorporation would be drawn up and capital for start-up expenses would be provided by banks and other investors, under a financial arrangement drawn up by an investment firm with credibility in the business community. The Steel Valley Authority might exist solely to administer Dorothy Six, or it might have a broader regional mission and perform similar rescue operations as the public interest warrants, much as the Tennessee Valley Authority does.

The plan opens up myriad possibilities for saving plants that are economically viable but that a company chooses to shut down for a tax write-off or for other reasons of its own. In Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, not far from Duquesne, the troubled L.T.V. Corporation is shutting down its relatively new coke batteries; and in neighboring Swissvale, WABCO/Union Switch and Signal, a division of American Standard which makes air brakes, has announced that it will relocate in Canada to satisfy the Canadian government's domestic-content restrictions. Workers from both L.T.V. and WABCO have approached the Tri-State Conference in hope of being included under the Steel Valley Authority umbrella.

Even the application of the concept to steel alone is viewed by some as "creeping socialism." The Allegheny County commissioners, while applauding the appropriateness of carrying out feasibility studies, have stopped short of endorsing either a worker takeover of Dorothy Six or the use of eminent domain. In all likelihood, efforts will be made in several quarters to co-opt the plan. U.S. Steel may come to its senses and decide to sell to a third party of its own choosing; a watered-down ESOP may be approved which offers workers only the illusion of ownership; or a splashy new regional plan may be announced that keeps power centralized in an effort to pre-empt a genuine grass-roots approach.

Mike Stout is adamant about U.S. Steel's duty to preserve Dorothy Six. The company has no more right to tear down the plant, he says, "than a man who's divorcing a woman has a right to just unilaterally tear the house down when he walks out of it."

"It's just as much our steelworks . . . as it is theirs," he adds. "The U.S. government built those mills in Duquesne and Homestead during World War II, with taxpayers' money, and sold them to U.S. Steel for ten cents on the dollar. The American government put 46 million tax dollars into building the Homestead mill in 1941, and in 1946 sold it to U.S. Steel for $4 million. As far as we're concerned, U.S. Steel is merely the groundskeeper."

As for the plan to save Dorothy, create a Steel Valley Authority and stimulate the demand for steel with a program for rebuilding the nation's roads, bridges and cities, that originated with steelworkers and people who live in the community, he points out. "We like to refer to this as reindustrialization from below. We don't just see it as saving jobs; we see it as our patriotic duty. We see the backbone of this country being crushed, and we're saying we're out to save it."

Tri-State Conference director Jim Benn says he muses about the larger implications of what the steelworkers and the people in the region are doing for the rest of the country. "But," he says, "wouldn't it be something, you know, just to save one mill." □

Women's History

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

the commission charged, lay in the company's subjective hiring practices. Sears had no written guidelines, and its training of interviewers was minimal. Thus there were no checks on interviewer bias, conscious or unconscious, which courts in other discrimination cases have taken into account. Tests were administered to applicants, and Yes answers to a few key questions were used to identify promising commission salespeople: Did the applicants like boxing, swear often, enjoy an event more when they bet on it, and speak with a low voice? The E.E.O.C. argued that not only were the questions biased against women but Sears had offered no evidence that they predicted sales ability.

Sears attorneys, led by Charles Morgan Jr., former civil rights activist and former head of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, responded that the company had done its best to hire women for the better-paying jobs. An affirmative action program established with great fanfare in 1973 required that half of all new employees be women or minority men. The E.E.O.C. said it is satisfied that the program reached its goals for minority groups but contended that it has failed for women. Between 1973 and 1980, the proportion of female commission salespeople rose from 20 percent to 29 percent; Sears's goal had been 38 percent.

Sears argued that it had been unable to hire more women for commission sales because so many of them didn't want those jobs. Women are afraid of competition with other salespeople and rejection by customers, Sears attorneys told the court; they are unfamiliar with most product lines sold on commission (which include fencing and auto parts, but also washing machines and draperies), and they didn't want additional responsibilities.

The evidence for this argument consisted mainly of Sears

Jon Wiener is a professor of history at the University of California, Irvine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theProgressive

It's not for everyone...

PHILIP BURKE

...but it is for

John Kenneth Galbraith • Kurt Vonnegut • Mary McGrory • Steve Allen • I.F. Stone • Henry Steele Commager Theda Skocpol • Benjamin Hooks • The John Birch Society • 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women AT&T • ACLU • Jules Feiffer • Herblock • Noam Chomsky • Murray Kempton • Tom Hayden • Joan Claybrook • Dow Chemical Co. • Ralph Nader • Bill Moyers • ABC • CBS • NBC • Tass News Agency • Edison Electric Institute • Sam Lovejoy • George McGovern • Georgie Anne Geyer • Embassy of Japan • United Auto Workers • The Pentagon • Phillip Berrigan • Studs Terkel • Ron Dellums • and it might be for you.

FREE

YES, THE PROGRESSIVE might be for me—Send me my FREE issue and reserve a full year subscription for only $15 for an additional 11 issues.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GUARANTEE: If The Progressive isn't for you, return the subscription bill marked "cancel" within two weeks and that's that. You've spent nothing. You owe nothing. And the sample issue is yours to keep.

THE PROGRESSIVE
409 EAST MAIN STREET, MADISON, WISCONSIN 53703 **D5L-A1-0**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

managers' anecdotes and opinions. The corporate director of equal opportunity testified that women were unwilling to take jobs selling tires because they didn't like going outside when "it's snowing or raining or whatever." Managers testified that they "continually tried to persuade reluctant women—even those only marginally qualified—to consider commission selling," that in many places they had "interviewed every woman in the store and found not one who was willing to sell big-ticket merchandise." In these efforts managers "purposely deviated from sound personnel practices," company attorneys told the judge, and "Sears stores lost sales because they retained poorly performing commission saleswomen in order to meet affirmative action requirements." Sears also presented evidence from surveys of its employees, which the E.E.O.C. claimed were biased and unreliable.

Sears attorneys counted on Rosenberg, an associate professor at Barnard College and the author of *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism*, to provide historical evidence for their argument that women don't want commission sales jobs. "Women have goals and values other than realizing maximum economic gain," she told the court, values centering on their roles as wives and mothers. Citing more than fifty works in women's history and women's studies, she described the development of a women's culture that emphasized nurturance and selflessness and that disavowed competition. These "traditional values . . . continue to be the ideal," Rosenberg reported; as a result, women's relative absence from high-paying jobs is the consequence not of employer discrimination but of the choices women make.

Kessler-Harris, a professor at Hofstra University, the author of *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the U.S.* and *Women Have Always Worked: A Historical Overview* and chair of the American Historical Association's committee on women historians, responded in her brief that "choice can be understood only within the framework of available opportunity." Where opportunities have been denied women, they have rationalized their situation in terms of domesticity. But when opportunities for better-paying jobs have been present, women have taken them. In the past 200 years, American women have worked at a variety of jobs, many of them "nontraditional." Kessler-Harris provided dozens of examples, from the 175 industries in which women were employed in 1850 to the experiences of "Rosie the Riveter" during World War II.

The main reason women work outside the home, she argued, and the main reason they want better-paying jobs, is that their families need the money. (A Sears witness, appropriately named Rex Rambo, had testified that women work "to get away from children.") Sears's own data showed that 28 percent of the full-time noncommission saleswomen had husbands who were unemployed; 27 percent had husbands earning less than $15,000 a year; and 75 percent had husbands with incomes below $25,000. The notion that work and family obligations are in conflict is less applicable to these women than it might be to women seeking self-fulfillment in demanding careers.

In an interview, Rosenberg said she agrees with Kessler-Harris's argument that working women want to make more money. "But Sears found that men were much more likely to want commission sales jobs," she maintained, the reason being that those jobs "involve risk of reduced income as well as an opportunity for greater income." Kessler-Harris replied: "There is no such risk at Sears. Sears guaranteed a salary against commissions. The guaranteed salary for commission salespeople was considerably higher than for non-commission salespeople."

Rosenberg offered other reasons why women turn down commission sales positions. "Working women who are married are likely to put family and children first," she said, "and therefore, as the survey evidence of the Sears work force shows, are less willing to work evenings and weekends than men—evenings and weekends which are required of commission salespeople." Kessler-Harris replied: "The argument that women are not willing to work evenings and weekends doesn't hold up. Evenings and weekends are required of all salespeople, whether or not they work on commission. They all rotate their schedules. Moreover, many women choose jobs with evening and weekend hours because those are the hours husbands can babysit." Husbands and relatives provide most child care for working women, according to surveys. "And there are predominantly female occupations that require extensive evening and weekend work, especially nursing and health care."

Rosenberg cited still other evidence against Kessler-Harris's argument that when good jobs are available, women take them. "Kessler-Harris may have been unaware that Sears presented Exhibit 25, identifying 680 women in only one district who had been offered promotions to commission sales jobs as part of Sears's affirmative action program and who had refused those offers."

Rosenberg's characterization of Exhibit 25 is incorrect, however. According to company attorneys, only some of the 680 were offered promotions; the rest did not receive offers but rather "indicated a lack of interest." Sears did not say how many women received genuine offers of promotion; the E.E.O.C. estimates that at most there were one hundred. "The E.E.O.C. tried to find out more about these offers," Kessler-Harris said. "What conditions were attached? Were the women required to move to distant locations? Were part-time workers required to take full-time jobs? How many men turn down the same kind of offers? Sears refused to identify any of the women who supposedly had turned down offers of better jobs."

In our interview, Rosenberg justified her testimony in defense of Sears as part of the "fight against the oppression of women," saying she told the truth about "the sources of women's oppression." Ellen DuBois, a historian at the State University of New York at Buffalo and author of *Feminism and Suffrage*, comments:

> The E.E.O.C. lawsuit is part of a political battle that has been altering the cultural configuration Rosenberg says she laments. She argues that history shows the situation is "too complicated" for an affirmative action program to remedy. This argument is the essence of conservatism and must be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

read as an attack on working women and sexual equality, an attack on the whole concept of affirmative action.

Rosenberg asserted that "Sears was not discriminating against women" in the period covered by the suit. Why didn't the Reagan Administration drop the case? She said:

> They've let this case go on, for their own cynical reasons. Because it's such a weak one, it actually damages the cause of affirmative action.
>
> Sears was the first major retailer to establish an affirmative action program. It spent millions on this program. . . . [Other retailers] will say Sears spent all this money, and look where it got them; we might as well save the money. Sears's winning would show that their commitment to affirmative action was worth it—that if you've made a good faith effort you can survive this kind of legal attack.

To that, Kessler-Harris says: "There's no evidence that Sears had a *good* affirmative action program for women. To say the Reagan Administration is supporting this suit as a way of attacking a good affirmative action program makes little sense." Indeed, Administration officials have made it clear they'd like to lose the case to discourage E.E.O.C. officials from bringing similar suits. E.E.O.C. chair Clarence Thomas has repeatedly criticized the suit because of its reliance on statistical evidence. When his opposition to it made page one of *The New York Times* in December, Sears attorneys sought a deposition from him; the judge ruled that his testimony would be irrelevant. Democratic Representative Augustus F. Hawkins summoned Thomas before the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities to complain that it was not "appropriate for you, as chairman of the commission . . . to criticize the commission's own case while the case [was] still before the court."

Rosenberg said the biggest factor influencing her to testify for Sears was the E.E.O.C.'s failure to produce women who had been denied good jobs by Sears: "I do not believe statistical disparities alone constitute proof of employer discrimination." But given the immense size of the Sears work force, statistical evidence is the only good indication of a pattern of discrimination. Such evidence was accepted by the courts as the basis for the A.T.&T. settlement, the biggest in the history of sex discrimination litigation. It is difficult to find complainants in sex discrimination suits. Women looking for jobs at Sears between 1973 and 1980 filled out applications, had five-minute interviews and later were notified that they did or didn't get the job. Those who weren't hired had no way of knowing if they had been the victims of sex discrimination. Even if they had known, most lacked the resources to pursue a complaint and needed a job right away. Rather than file charges, they would have kept looking.

Two women who had been turned down did appear at the end of the trial. Sears picked three applications out of a pool of one hundred as examples of women who were not interested in selling on commission, and the E.E.O.C. managed to locate two of them. Each said she was indeed interested and showed she was qualified; one had considerable experience in commission sales.

Sears asked a number of experts in women's history to testify in its behalf, but Rosenberg was the only one who accepted the invitation. Kathryn Kish Sklar, a professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, and the author of *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity*, said: "Sears asked me. I said they were wasting their time. There was no way I was going to be a witness against the E.E.O.C."

Although Rosenberg cited Sklar's book in her brief, Sklar told me: "I'm profoundly troubled by the use of scholarship about women in the past as a justification for discrimination against women in the present. It ignores the basic tenet of historical study: change over time. Evidence about the nineteenth century simply doesn't explain women's labor force participation today."

Carl Degler of Stanford University, the author of *At Odds: Women and the Family in America* (which Rosenberg also quoted) and president-elect of the American Historical Association, also declined Sears's invitation to testify. "I don't like the idea of using historical evidence as a justification for limiting opportunities," he commented. "Of course it's true that few women in the past have taken these jobs; nevertheless, it's likely that more will in the future, with changed opportunities and more willingness on the part of employers to consider women for nontraditional jobs."

Other historians cited by Rosenberg objected to her use of their scholarship. William Chafe, a professor at Duke University and the author of *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920–1970*, said: "All of the examples Rosenberg cited from my work emphasize the institutional, cultural and political *obstacles* to the achievement of sex equality in the United States. None of them suggest women wanted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOURNALISTS' AND EDITORS' BRIEFING

Subject: Preparation for Geneva

Monday, September 23 • 9:45 A.M. to 8:15 P.M.
Harvard Faculty Club
20 Quincy Street, Cambridge, MA 02138

Important background information for journalists and editors on economic, political, social, military and journalistic conditions in the Soviet Union. Includes a session on "The Experience of Covering the News in Moscow and Reporting It on the Outside." The conference will feature former Moscow correspondents Dusko Doder and Stuart Loory and Bernard Gwertzman of The New York Times.

Full cost, including lunch, dinner, beverages: $200. For speakers' schedule and reservations, contact Marshall I. Goldman, acting director, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. (617) 495-4485.

Sponsored by The Russian Research Center, Nieman Foundation for Journalists, U.S. State Department and the William and Mary Greve Foundation.

K.A.L. FLIGHT 007

1 YEAR AFTER

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It

David Pearson's newsbreaking and scholarly investigation in the August 18/25, 1984, issue of The Nation.

2 YEARS AFTER

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

David Pearson, John Keppel, David Corn and others analyze new evidence uncovered in the past year and describe the government's efforts to inhibit the investigation. In the August 17/24, 1985, Nation.

1-9 copies . . . . . $3.00 each
10-49 copies . . . . $2.00 each
50-99 copies . . . . $1.50 each

DISCOUNT OFFER: both issues for $5 (on orders postmarked by September 21).

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

Send me_____copies of the 1984 issue and_____ copies of the 1985 issue on K.A.L. 007.
I've enclosed $_____.*

Name _____

Address _____

City_____ State_____ Zip _____

* Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (U.S. currency only. N.Y. State residents must add appropriate sales tax).

to be unequal or chose to have inferior jobs."

Asked to identify historians who would approve of her use of their scholarship in this case, Rosenberg cited only one, Regina Morantz-Sanchez of the University of Kansas, the author of *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine.* When she was asked to comment, Morantz-Sanchez's endorsement was qualified: "Is it possible for women to have chosen not to take those jobs at Sears? My work on women physicians suggests that theoretically it is. That does not mean institutions don't discriminate against women. Sears may be discriminating in this case."

On June 28, when closing statements were presented, Morgan, once a hero of the civil rights movement, summed up for the company in demagogic style. He called on the judge to reject the E.E.O.C.'s statistics and the testimony of "these Ph.D.s" called by the government, and instead use "common sense . . . walking-around sense." Common sense suggested sex discrimination didn't exist at all: "Strange, isn't it, that we live in a world where there is supposed to be a monopsony of white men who somehow get up every morning trying to find a way to discriminate against their wives, their daughters, their mothers, their sisters."

He linked the E.E.O.C. case against Sears to the antiwar protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago:

> What was Sears in 1968? Sears was God, motherhood and country. . . . In those years God, motherhood and country became controversial, [opposed by] that new generation coming alive in the streets of Chicago with values quite different from mine and from some others'. . . . My heavens, what did the pill do? Said to women, . . . You don't have to have children at all. You can devote and dedicate yourself to a career.

In her summation, E.E.O.C. attorney Karen Baker told the court that the company's witnesses had "said women aren't interested in these jobs; they are afraid of the products; they are afraid of going to people's homes; they are afraid of competition; they are afraid of risk in income; they are afraid of going out in the rain. When you listen to [the] Sears store witnesses, you get the idea that women are really a very weak lot." Those opinions, the basis of Sears managers' decisions about hiring and promotion, constitute "the essence of discrimination."

There is little reason to fear that the Sears case represents the beginnings of a trend among historians of women: Sears's expert witness has virtually no support in the field. Nevertheless, the historical testimony in the case reflected in an exaggerated way the divisions in the feminist movement. Betty Friedan, in her book *The Second Stage*, and others have called for a return to the family in the name of preserving female values. Feminists on the left reply that all arguments about distinctive female values play into the hands of conservatives. The Sears case exposes the political implications of the "female values" position. If something in women leads them to reject higher-paying jobs, why should the government press any employer to establish an affirmative action program? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Christian Network

GEORGE BLACK

NICARAGUA: Revolution in the Family. *By Shirley Christian. Random House. 337 pp. $19.95.*

Americas Watch, the human rights monitoring group, spent a month this summer negotiating for a private meeting with UNO, the newly unified leadership of the Nicaraguan *contras.* The purpose was to discuss UNO's decision to establish a human rights commission to study charges of abuses by *contra* troops. UNO eventually agreed to a meeting and offered to send the organization's top men, Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo and Arturo Cruz.

When three Americas Watch representatives arrived at UNO's Washington office for the July 26 meeting, they found only Cruz. After a few minutes, Calero and Robelo emerged from another room, accompanied by *New York Times* correspondent Shirley Christian. Cruz asked the startled Americas Watch delegates if Christian could stay for the meeting. While they were conferring, Calero insisted that she should remain. Americas Watch reluctantly agreed, afraid that refusing to do so would place the meeting at risk. With Christian taking notes, the UNO leaders avoided discussing the proposed human rights commission, delivering instead an hour-and-a-quarter-long peroration against Americas Watch. It was clear to the Americas Watch delegates that most of the meeting consisted of grandstanding conducted for Christian's benefit.

Christian's behavior was extraordinary for a reporter, but then she is no ordinary reporter, and *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* is no ordinary book. To those who have followed Christian's career, the Americas Watch/UNO incident comes as no surprise. Since 1979 she has ground her ideological ax against the Sandinistas, and her prejudices have produced some flagrant departures from accepted journalistic standards of fairness, accuracy and method.

George Black is working on a book on the history of U.S. press coverage of Latin America.

Christian was a staff reporter for *The Miami Herald* in Central America from the fall of 1979 until Alfonso Chardy and Juan Tamayo took over the beat in January 1983. She won a Pulitzer Prize for her coverage in 1981. The first thing one notices about this period in Christian's career is the volume of stories she filed. In her peak years of 1981 and 1982, *The Herald* ran fifty-seven stories from Nicaragua under her byline—more than the combined total of her closest rivals, *The New York Times*'s Alan Riding and *The Washington Post*'s Christopher Dickey.

Even more telling than the quantity of reporting are the themes Christian selected. Taken as a whole, her coverage laid out the full spectrum of charges against the Sandinistas months before the Reagan Administration used them systematically. Fifteen of her stories dealt with the Sandinistas' "broken promises" to what she calls in her book "those who wanted democracy." Another fourteen were on human rights abuses and repression. No less than seven focused on Edén Pastora in exile. The remainder included pieces on the Soviet-sponsored military buildup, the Sandinistas' invention of external threats, the government's economic mismanagement and its arms shipments to rebels in El Salvador. The headlines convey something of the content and tone: "Sandinista Trials Slow and 'Worse Than Nuremberg'"; "Sandinista Critics Feel Mob Anger"; "Managua's Archbishop Confronts Marxists." Invariably it was Christian who "broke" these stories, if that is the correct term for her exposition of a personal agenda which was ignored by most of the press.

Christian might have produced even more such pieces had she not spent the early part of 1982 writing a lengthy polemic for the *Washington Journalism Review.* "How the Press Covered the Sandinistas," which appeared in the *Review*'s March 1982 issue, was an acerbic attack on the press corps' failure to warn the American public that the Nicaraguan revolutionaries were communists. Alan Riding was singled out as the most serious offender. "The American media, like most of the United States," Christian wrote, "went on a guilt trip in Nicaragua." She claimed that reporters covering the war conducted an "open love affair" with the Sandinistas, and saw them "through a romantic haze."

Christian expressed the opinion—and this view resurfaces in *Nicaragua*—that Somoza was judged too harshly. His bad press was the penalty he paid for running a relatively open society. "I cannot help asking," Christian reflected, "whether the horrors that journalists saw in Nicaragua constituted a reign of brutality and terror by an especially repressive regime, or whether they were the horrors of any kind of war, seen without censorship and language and cultural barriers." It was even unfair, she suggested in a passage that many journalists found deeply offensive, to blame Somoza for the killing of ABC reporter Bill Stewart, since "the shooting had obviously been outside his control."

Christian's main concern was the press corps' use of sources, which is the centerpiece of journalistic ethics. Her key objection was that "most of the sources quoted in *The Post* and *The Times* about the nature of the Sandinistas . . . were not Marxists, but members of the so-called moderate or conservative opposition to Somoza." She argued that reporters could never get inside the revolution by talking to moderates who were ignorant of the workings of the Sandinistas and prone to wishful thinking about their own role. Christian singled out "millionaire industrialist Alfonso Robelo" as the kind of source who could not be expected to give reliable testimony.

Fair point. Of the journalists who covered Nicaragua, only a few—*The Post*'s Karen de Young, Alma Guillermoprieto in the Manchester *Guardian*—built their analyses on a broad range of sources. In the *Washington Journalism Review* for May 1982, in a sharp response to Christian's article, Riding wondered how her criteria would apply to her own reporting.

That is a fascinating question. What sources did Christian use for her fifty-seven stories during 1981 and 1982? They turn out to be so exclusively hostile as to suggest intentional malice. Forty out of fifty-four named sources are precisely the business leaders and opposition politicians she condemned

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

others for relying on. Their false optimism had by now given way to bitter disillusionment. The remaining citations are largely *pro forma* rebuttals by government officials to the main thrust of an article. Even more striking are Christian's *vox pop.*/"man in the street" quotations. In two years of reporting, she did not record a single sympathetic comment from the twenty-five shopkeepers, stallholders, small farmers and businessmen, baseball fans and taxi drivers she interviewed. Their testimony is a relentless litany of complaints about Cuban influence and food lines and nostalgia for better days under Somoza.

Christian has a special fondness for reusing her favorite sources. Interviews with Robelo provide the meat for five stories. Pastora and Calero (then Conservative Party leader, now F.D.N. chief) account for four apiece. Another source for four stories is José Francisco Cardenal, former head of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Construction and one of the first rightist dissidents to leave Nicaragua after the revolution.

Cardenal repeatedly led Christian into that stickiest of reportorial quicksands, the single-source story. One of these raises particularly serious questions of journalistic ethics. Published in *The Herald* on July 4, 1981, the story reported Cardenal's charges that the Sandinistas were guilty of the "massive murder" on June 27 of sixteen prisoners at the Heroes and Martyrs of Nueva Guinea jail in Managua. "The present Nicaraguan Communist authorities," Cardenal said, had "ordered the massacre of helpless people, something that has no precedent in Nicaraguan prison history."

The problem was that the Permanent Commission for Human Rights (C.P.D.H.), a fierce adversary of the Sandinistas and a frequent source for Christian, circulated internationally a statement on the incident two days after it occurred, urging a government inquiry. The statement contained nothing to substantiate Cardenal's charges. Amnesty International also studied the "massacre." According to an Amnesty official in London, "We agreed with the C.P.D.H. that there was no evidence to suggest that the incident was anything other than what the government said it was—a hostage-taking by common criminals, including convicted bank robbers, in which guards were overpowered and disarmed and other prisoners used as human shields." On the basis of the C.P.D.H.'s evidence, Amnesty concluded that no further investigation was warranted.

Christian could and should have obtained the C.P.D.H. report before she issued her story. (Interestingly, *The Times*'s Ray Bonner has been severely criticized for a similar offense, an uncorroborated story on torture in El Salvador.) To make matters worse, the single source for Christian's massacre story was José Francisco Cardenal. An August 5 article in *The New Republic* by former *contra* leader Edgar Chamorro revealed that Cardenal had been on the C.I.A. payroll since late 1980.

Since *Nicaragua* is largely an edited compilation of the *Miami Herald* articles from 1981 and 1982, it shares all those stories' faults. Christian's fondness for the business elite makes her book less a history of Nicaragua than a series of episodes depicting a sinister Leninist tyranny punctuated by heroic portraits of its victims. Her relationship with *contra* leader Calero is especially clubby. The "tall Notre Dame graduate" is "easy to like, the kind of person who gave both friendship and information without concern for what he was going to get in return." Christian is often to be found sharing an after-dinner brandy with him or discussing the latest *contra* attacks while he "tend[s] a Spanish omelet on the electric range of his Miami town house."

Her partisanship leads to the book's fallacious thesis that Nicaragua's private sector could have been steered to power in 1978 if the Carter Administration had acted more decisively. Whatever Carter's shortcomings, it is hardly fair to blame him for failing to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. Christian overestimates the political skills of the business elite while ignoring their dubious moral record. Politically, they were hindered throughout that period by their notoriously poor organization, their internal schisms and personal power struggles, and their hesitancy to abandon Somoza until they had lost the initiative to the Sandinistas.

Christian's pivotal chapter on "Jorge Salazar and Elections" shows her reporting of the private sector at its most tendentious. Salazar, head of the large farmers' association UPANIC, was shot dead in unexplained circumstances by security agents in November 1980. Though Christian portrays him as the model democrat, she sees no contradiction in the fact that as early as June of that year he was conspiring with ex-National Guardsmen in Honduras and members of the Salvadoran military "to shoot [the Sandinistas] out" of power. In her sympathy for the likes of Cardenal and Salazar, Christian does more than choose sides: these men arrived in the *contra* camp a full two years before more moderate anti-Sandinistas such as Cruz and Robelo.

And what of the Sandinistas? Riding's comments in the *Washington Journalism Review* remain true: Christian views the subject "through the prism of her evident dislike of the outcome. . . . She therefore picks her facts to suit her foregone conclusion." A conspiracy theory is not a rewarding way to understand history, and Christian's depiction of the F.S.L.N. is one of the cruder examples of the genre. The Sandinistas' social programs are dismissed in an eight-page chapter as a superficial ruse, employed because the "Front needed the workers and peasants on its side . . . as the means to justify and retain power."

Christian assumes that "the leaders of the Sandinista Front intended to establish a Leninist system [something she never defines] from the day they marched into Managua, whether they called it that or not." If the Sandinistas have appeared at any point to deviate from their master plan, the departure is read as evidence of incompetence or duplicity. Part of the problem is that Christian seems to believe that Nicaragua's course was written in stone by late 1981, when she had assembled enough lurid vignettes of the Sandinistas' "true face" to rest her case. So her accounts of the *contra* war and the economy since 1982 are squeezed into a single page, that of the Contadora process into nine lines. This approach leads to serious factual errors. For example, Christian presents Defense Minister Umberto Ortega's celebrated August 1980 announcement of "elections to advance revolutionary power" as a blueprint for the voting held last November. In fact, the 1984 elections were a major departure from Ortega's outline. Similarly, we learn that in 1981 Soviet-educated Planning Minister Henry Ruíz introduced "the centralized Bulgarian view of economic policy." But Ruíz's unhappy experience at the Planning Ministry is legendary in Nicaragua, and the economy continues

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to be controlled more by market forces than by central planning.

As a crude polemic, *Nicaragua* is distinguished from others of its kind only by the relatively readable prose. Those who want a hatchet job on the Sandinistas' politics would do well to stick with David Nolan's more thoroughly documented book, *FSLN: The Ideology of the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan Revolution. Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* is a narrow eulogy for those Nicaraguan conservatives who failed to seize power; it is a forum for Shirley Christian's extreme advocacy journalism; it is by no stretch of the imagination a full or fair picture of contemporary Nicaragua. If we have the right to expect more from this book it is because Christian should be judged by the same journalistic standards she so unsparingly imposed on her colleagues. □

Exporting Persecution

ARYEH NEIER

THE AMERICAN CONNECTION: Volume One: State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador *(388 pp.)*. Volume Two: State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala *(319 pp.)*. *Both by Michael McClintock. Zed Books. $30.95 each. Paper $12.25 each. Available from Biblio Distribution Centre, 81 Adams Drive, Totowa, NJ 07512. (201) 256-8600. Shipping charge extra.*

The 1966 *U.S. Army Handbook of Counterinsurgency Guidelines* envisaged guerrilla warfare in a small Latin American country called Centralia. Centralia combined the characteristics of several countries in Central America: its population was predominantly Spanish-speaking mestizo; its Indian population spoke Kekchi, one of the languages of Guatemala; and its coastal area was populated by black English-speaking Creoles, as in Nicaragua and Honduras.

As Michael McClintock establishes in *The American Connection*, a landmark two-volume study of the U.S. role in promoting state terror as public policy in El Salvador and Guatemala, the advice provided in the *Army Handbook* is typical of what was emanating from Washington in the 1960s: the way to defeat or prevent communist insurgencies in Third World countries was to organize "counter-terror." Nevertheless, next to some of the advice that the United States was issuing at the time, the *Handbook* was comparatively restrained. "You may not employ mass counter-terror, as opposed to selective counter-terror, against the civilian population, i.e., genocide is not an alternative," it counseled. Targeted kidnappings and assassinations, on the other hand, were not only legitimate but were recommended.

According to McClintock, it was President John Kennedy's fascination with counterinsurgency methods in the wake of the French defeat in Indochina and Castro's triumph in Cuba that spurred the systematic development of the state terror strategy. McClintock cites a 1962 memorandum from Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, which summarizes U.S. counterinsurgency accomplishments under Kennedy. According to Lemnitzer:

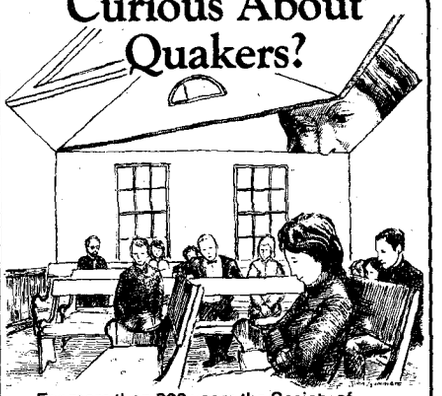
> What the president had in mind was nothing less than a dynamic national strategy: an action program designed to defeat the Communists without recourse to the hazard or the terror of nuclear war; one designed to defeat subversion where it had already erupted, and, even more important, to prevent its taking initial root.

At the heart of this dynamic national strategy was the organization of paramilitary forces in countries like El Salvador and Guatemala, closely controlled by the regular armed forces but operating in a shadowy way so that governmental responsibility for their actions could be denied. Such paramilitary groups, according to a 1964 Joint Chiefs of Staff memo which McClintock cites, were to be "created from the young elite which exists everywhere: those who have a stake in the community because they have a family, own a house or a piece of land, are ambitious to get ahead in business, profession or politics."

The task of these paramilitary forces was to conduct political warfare, a term succinctly defined in a 1961 article from the U.S. Army journal *Military Review* cited by McClintock:

Aryeh Neier is vice chairman of the Americas Watch and Helsinki Watch committees.

Curious About Quakers?



For more than 300 years the Society of Friends has supported peace, understanding, and spiritual growth. Quakers have offered insights on personal faith and group worship that have been helpful to many spiritual seekers from different faiths.

FRIENDS JOURNAL, published 19 times a year, offers a view of the spiritual and social commitment of today's Quakers. You certainly don't have to be a Quaker in order to learn and grow through reading FRIENDS JOURNAL.

FRIENDS JOURNAL
1501 Cherry St., Dept. N, Philadelphia, PA 19102

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please send me FRIENDS JOURNAL for 6 months ($7.50); one year ($15). Sample copy $1. Payment enclosed.

COLLECTOR's EDITION

watch for this monitor next week

Harry Dean CIA/FBI agent infiltrated JFK conspiracy with Lee Oswald CIA/FBI agent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on THE PRESS.

Andrew Kopkind on THE CULTURE WARS.

Stephen F. Cohen on THE SOVIET UNION.

Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.

Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.

Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you.

Add your voice to ours.
Special Introductory Rate For New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D531

> Political warfare is a sustained effort by a government or political group to seize, preserve, or extend power, against a defined ideological enemy, through all acts short of a shooting war by regular military forces, but not excluding the threat of such a war . . . it embraces diverse forms of coercion and violence including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and, when necessary, kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites.

In a passage that suggests the deep roots of current U.S. policy in Nicaragua, this article, written a quarter-century ago, urged that such political warfare should be pursued in "counter-revolutionary offensives in countries subverted to communism."

For his massive evidence on the U.S. state terror strategy and its implementation by the paramilitary death squads of El Salvador and Guatemala, McClintock has drawn extensively on declassified documents from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s in government archives. He has used the Freedom of Information Act to pry loose many documents from assorted government bureaucracies. He has also read the transcripts of Congressional hearings, the public speeches of military leaders, the journals published by the armed services, the memoirs of former officials of the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, unpublished dissertations and, it seems, just about everything else that would shed light on his subject. In addition, he has used a number of Spanish-language sources, including the journals of the armed forces of El Salvador and Guatemala, to show how the strategy of state terror was absorbed and applied. Here is a characteristic excerpt from an article he found in the journal of the Salvadoran Army Staff College:

> Regular warfare is the procedure in which the contenders submit to laws. In contrast, irregular warfare is not subject to laws: anything is possible. Moreover, guerrilla warfare is a primitive form of war, man's natural manner of combat, with all means and methods available to him.

The author of this article, Maj. Manuel Alfonso Rodríguez, who subsequently became Chief of Staff of the Salvadoran armed forces, argues that "the guerrilla force organized with regular members of the Army produces the best results." But an article in this journal a few months later cautions that it is "important that the army itself should not openly appear to be an instructor of guerrillas, because demagogues would take advantage of this to ascribe distorted ends to the army." The author, a Major Monge, also emphasizes the preventive value of such paramilitary forces which, he argues, should be employed so that actual guerrilla conflict never arises.

Michael McClintock, an American, is a longtime member of the research staff of Amnesty International in London. Because his study deals with matters that go beyond Amnesty's definition of its mandate, he is at pains to emphasize that his work on these two volumes was undertaken independently. Yet his research here reflects the same passion for accuracy that characterizes his work on behalf of Amnesty and that has made his reports on Peru, for example, so crucial in exposing the slaughter now taking place in the Andean region of Ayacucho.

Besides documenting the role of the United States in developing the theory of paramilitary terror, McClintock shows how our government—through the armed forces, the State Department, the C.I.A. and the Agency for International Development's Public Safety Program—helped organize paramilitary forces under the control of the regular armed forces of El Salvador and Guatemala. Indeed, in the case of Guatemala, McClintock demonstrates that in the 1950s the United States actually compiled the data base for what became the "black list" of those targeted for persecution.

If McClintock's two volumes provide a valuable history of state terror in El Salvador and Guatemala, they are less successful in their attempts to establish that armed rebellion in those countries has been a consequence of state terror rather than a cause of it. Although this thesis is probably right, it is largely insusceptible to proof by McClintock's method, which is to assemble documentary evidence but provide few illuminating anecdotes, biographical portraits, memorable scenes or passages of sustained narrative.

One reason McClintock is probably right to argue that "counter-terror" usually preceded the terror it was supposed to counter is that the United States and its Salvadoran and Guatemalan allies have traditionally equated peaceful protest with insurgency. He cites, for example, a 1961 cable from the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the State Department that discusses the presence of a number of "hard-core Communists" in labor federations and a much larger number of "active Castro/Communist sympathizers." According to the cable, "These forces have potential for: terrorism and sabotage, demonstrations, strikes and mob violence which if protracted might turn into successful general strike and internal revolution." Not only are demonstrations and strikes likened to terrorism, sabotage and mob violence but it is the "potential" that these "hard-core Communists" and their "active sympathizers" will engage in such actions that is used to demonstrate their dangerousness.

"Counter-terror" is a more effective weapon against strikers and demonstrators than against terrorists and saboteurs, if only because the latter are more secretive about their activities and are better able to defend themselves. Accordingly, a system of violence operated by those who do not distinguish between demonstrators and terrorists is likely to insure that its targets will quickly realize that armed resistance is their safest alternative. Whether that is what actually induced those who became the Salvadoran and Guatemalan guerrillas to take up arms, however, cannot be proved by McClintock.

What can be proved is that the activities of the Reagan Administration in Central America are directly in line with historic U.S. policy in the region. (Only the Carter Administration was aberrant in its fitful attempts to promote human rights.) In addition, McClintock's evidence definitively disproves the Reagan Administration's contention that death squad activity in Central America is a matter of private enterprise—or the work of "extremes of the right and the left."

For some time now there has been a vast amount of circumstantial evidence linking the death squads and government forces: death squads were never apprehended or prosecuted; they operated with impunity during curfew hours; they passed police checkpoints without challenge; the security forces sometimes blocked streets to permit death squads to operate without interruption; uniformed forces sometimes conducted joint operations with nonuniformed death squads; bodies were dumped in heavily patrolled areas; death squads had access to good intelligence; the volume of death squad killing was adjusted in response to pressure on governmental forces; and so on. This evidence was supplemented by information provided by a handful of defectors from the government's terror apparatus and, last year, by some fine investigative reporting on the Salvadoran death squads by Laurie Becklund in the *Los Angeles Times*, Craig Pyes in *The Albuquerque Journal* and Allan Nairn in *The Progressive*.

It is only now, however, with the publication of Michael McClintock's two volumes, that we can gauge the full measure of bad faith of those Reagan Administration officials who have attempted to deny state responsibility for death squad terror. □

Reading Nicaragua

HOLLY SKLAR

Seen through the eyes of the Reagan Administration, Nicaragua is a "totalitarian dungeon," its revolution "stolen" by the Sandinistas, who are "infinitely worse" than Anastasio Somoza. After the 1984 Vice-Presidential debate, George Bush's press secretary told reporters, "You can say anything you want in a debate, and 80 million people hear it. If reporters then document that a candidate spoke untruthfully, so what? Maybe 200 people read it, or 2,000 or 20,000." The Administration keeps flinging mud at Nicaragua, knowing plenty will stick. The publications reviewed here are tools for stripping away the mud and organizing to change U.S. policy.

"It may well be that this tiny country of fewer than three million people has been the target of more criticism on human rights grounds from the Reagan Administration—and especially from the president himself—than any other country in the world," says Americas Watch in its excellent study *With*

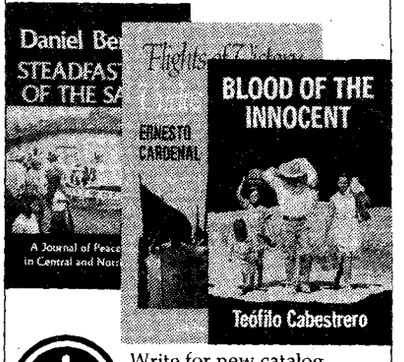
Holly Sklar, editor of Trilateralism *and a co-author of* Poverty in the American Dream *(South End Press), has traveled extensively in Nicaragua. She is currently at work on a book on U.S. foreign policy and intervention.*

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

STEADFASTNESS OF THE SAINTS
A Journal of Peace and War in Central and North America
by DANIEL BERRIGAN
"A provocative, beautifully written work about what it means to keep faith in Central America."
—PENNY LERNOUX
144 pages $7.95 paper

FLIGHTS OF VICTORY/ VUELOS DE VICTORIA
by ERNESTO CARDENAL
Few modern poets have attained Cardenal's success in harmonizing the demands of poetry, Christian faith, and the political struggle for justice especially for the poor. *Flights of Victory* will claim the attention of a wide readership.
160 pages $9.95 paper

BLOOD OF THE INNOCENT
Victims of the Contras' War in Nicaragua
edited by TEÓFILO CABESTRERO
In this alarming volume, witnesses and survivors of contra assaults on Nicaraguan peasants recount their horrifying experiences.
112 pages $6.95 paper



Write for new catalog
ORBIS BOOKS
Maryknoll, NY 10545

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Friends Like These: The Americas Watch Report on Human Rights and U.S. Policy in Latin America, edited by Cynthia Brown (Pantheon, $8.95). The twenty-page section on Nicaragua is an easily digested antidote to the Administration's propaganda. *With Friends Like These* observes:

> Unlike several other Latin American governments that have come under harsh criticism (though not from this administration), the GRN [Nicaraguan government] has responded to human rights organizations with efforts to improve the situation. . . . In early 1984, for example, the GRN conducted several investigations of abuses in remote areas, which resulted in the prosecution and appropriate punishment of members of the security forces. . . . In regard to the Miskito minority, there has been a clear effort to improve relations and resolve past conflicts.

In November 1984, Nicaragua held elections which the Reagan Administration dismissed as a "Soviet-style sham." The Latin American Studies Association at the University of Texas, Austin, sent a delegation of fifteen prominent U.S. scholars with expertise on Central America to investigate and observe the proceedings. Their invaluable report, *The Electoral Process In Nicaragua: Domestic and International Influences* (L.A.S.A., 1984, $3), provides a readable, thorough analysis of Nicaraguan political parties and forces, the structure and outcome of the elections, and international influences on them, including that of the United States. The report observes that "the Sandinista government deliberately chose a West European-style proportional representation system that would maximize representation of opposition parties in the national legislature." And while "the range of options available to the Nicaraguan voter on most issues was broad . . . it would have been even broader if the U.S. Government had not succeeded in persuading or pressuring key opposition leaders to boycott or withdraw from the election."

HARD CHOICES
How Women Decide about Work, Career, and Motherhood
by Kathleen Gerson
"Fascinating questions, and fascinating interviews about how women make up their minds how to balance the rewards and punishments of children and work."
—Arthur L. Stinchcombe, author of *Theoretical Methods in Social History*
"A solid, scholarly book on a timely subject."
—*Publishers Weekly*
$19.95 at bookstores or order toll-free 800/UC BOOKS (800-822-6657)
University of California Press Berkeley 94720

The Institute for Food and Development Policy, a nonprofit research and education center based in San Francisco, has produced two excellent resources on Nicaragua. *Now We Can Speak: A Journey Through the New Nicaragua*, by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins (1982, $4.95), is an illustrated introduction to early Sandinista Nicaragua, covering education, agrarian reform, popular democracy and other issues. *Nicaragua: What Difference Could a Revolution Make?*, by Joseph Collins with Frances Moore Lappé, Nick Allen and Paul Rice (revised edition, $7.95), is an in-depth account of the Nicaraguan school of social change as seen through the "food window." Rooted in the institute's belief that "hunger results not from a scarcity of resources but from a scarcity of democracy—if by democracy we mean the wide distribution of decision-making power," it is not only about food and farming but about the creation of the "logic of the majority" in a country that has known centuries of domination.

As an unpaid adviser on food and farming in Nicaragua, Collins is intimately familiar with important policy debates and with the Sandinistas' attempts to balance competing goals: to distribute land to the poor while accommodating large producers, and to fight price speculation and shortages while avoiding rationing and bureaucratization. Little-known Nicaraguan experiments, for instance in getting off the "pesticide treadmill" and adopting safe and ecologically sound pest management, are also discussed. Collins clearly shows how U.S. intervention is polarizing debate and disrupting progress toward "national food security" as *contras* target agrarian reform. "Three years ago," he writes, "when I asked small farmers what they most wanted, the usual response was tractors. Now more often they answer guns—to defend their farms and homes."

Nicaragua became a school in the most literal sense during the 1980 National Literacy Crusade, which involved 60,000 young Nicaraguan *brigadistas*. *And Also Teach Them To Read*, by Sheryl Hirshon with Judy Butler (Lawrence Hill and Company, 1983, $9.95), is a firsthand account of that five-month campaign, which "reduced the illiteracy rate from 50 percent to 12 percent, making [Nicaragua] the third most literate country in Latin America, after Cuba and Argentina." A principle of the literacy crusade was that learners are teachers and teachers are learners. Hirshon cites the eloquent words of Don José, a peasant farmer who wrote to the mother of his literacy teacher:

> Do you know I'm not ignorant anymore? I know how to read now. Not perfectly, you understand, but I know how. And do you know, your son isn't ignorant anymore either. Now he knows how we live, what we eat, how we work. And he knows the life of the mountains. Your son, ma'am, has learned to read from our book.

Between Struggle and Hope: The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade, by Valerie Miller (Westview, $32.50, paper $15.50), is a lucid evaluation of the goals, philosophy, organization, methodology and social context of the literacy campaign. Miller, a specialist in adult education and Latin American development, was invited to participate in the literacy crusade as a historian and critic, and her book is an invaluable guide to the politics of literacy and illiteracy in Nicaraguan—and global—social transformation.

The last phase of the campaign was to train coordinators to carry forward the literacy work and adult education in popular education collectives, complementing a massive expansion of formal education. But since the first murder of a literacy teacher in May 1980, education, too, has been a target of the *contras*. According to Nicaraguan government statistics, twenty-three primary-school teachers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and 135 popular education teachers have been murdered, fifteen rural schools partially destroyed, and 647 popular education centers forced to disband.

The Nicaraguan revolution is very much a women's revolution. (A side effect of the Reagan Administration's rejection of Vice Foreign Minister Nora Astorga as Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States was to deny the new Nicaragua a female face.) *Sweet Ramparts: Women in Revolutionary Nicaragua*, by Jane Deighton, Rossana Horsley, Sarah Stewart and Cathy Cain (War on Want/Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, 1983, $6.95), chronicles changes in the lives of Nicaraguan women and explores the role of the national Nicaraguan Women's Association. Nicaragua's constitution is explicitly committed to equal rights for women; the Agrarian Reform, for example, grants land titles to both men and women in member households. Women have been particularly active in mass organizations like the locally based defense committees, and in the health and literacy campaigns. *Sweet Ramparts* discusses the effect of the counterrevolution on women—for instance, in hampering improvements in wages, child care and other social services and in slowing the evolution of new policies on reproductive rights. It is, however, somewhat dated and gives an understated impression both of women's advances and of the impact of the war. A new reader, *Nicaraguan Women: Unlearning the Alphabet of Submission* ($3.50), is available from the New York-based Women's International Resource Exchange (WIRE).

The most direct way to meet Sandinista leaders without seeing them in person is to read Margaret Randall's interview books: *Doris Tijerino: Inside the Nicaraguan Revolution* (New Star Books, 1978, $5.25; Tijerino was recently named chief of the Nicaraguan National Police); *Sandino's Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle* (New Star Books, 1981, $7.95); *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution* (New Star Books, 1983, $7.95); and *Risking a Somersault in the Air: Conversations with Nicaraguan Writers* (Solidarity Publications, 1984, $8). *Risking a Somersault* includes interviews with prizewinning poet Gioconda Belli, Vice President Sergio Ramírez and Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal. A good companion volume is *Nicaragua in Revolution: The Poets Speak* (Marxist Educational Press, c/o Anthropology Department, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1980, $8.95), a bilingual collection of Nicaraguan poets—including President Daniel Ortega—edited by Bridget Aldaraca, Edward Baker, Ileana Rodriguez and Marc Zimmerman.

There are a number of valuable books on the U.S. effort to shape Nicaragua's destiny since the revolution. *The Nicaragua Reader: Documents of a Revolution Under Fire*, edited by Peter Rosset and John Vandermeer (Grove Press, 1983, $22.50, paper $8.95), is an excellent collection of U.S. and Nicaraguan government documents, statements by key spokespersons and articles representing a range of opinion. Phillip Berryman's *Inside Central America* (Pantheon, $5.95) is a concise account of Central American revolution and U.S. counterrevolution, the inability of corporate models of economic development to meet the needs of the poor majority, and the prospects for peace negotiations. *Nicaragua: A Look at the Reality* (Quixote Center, Hyattsville, Maryland, $1.50) is a tabloid-format guide to the Nicaraguan revolution, U.S. policy and alternatives. For regular coverage of these issues, see *Nicaraguan Perspectives*, published quarterly by the Nicaraguan Information Center, Berkeley, California ($12 a year).

Nicaragua: America's New Vietnam, by investigative reporter Karl Grossman (The Permanent Press, Sag Harbor, New York, 1984, $16.95, paper $9.95), is an engaging account of his journey through Nicaragua and Honduras. (An unfortunate error places Somoza's assassination in Bolivia rather than Paraguay.) Grossman interviewed U.S. citizens working in Nicaragua as well as Nicaraguans across the political spectrum, including Interior Minister Tomás Borge and Captain Wong, a former National Guard officer now operating a restaurant in Miami. "The North American people are victims," says Borge, because "its very sad to be hungry, to be poor, but it's even sadder to be duped." Wong says of the potential for democracy in Nicaragua, "You can't give the vote to people who can't read or write, who never saw a toilet."

Allan Nairn's "Endgame: A Special Report on U.S. Military Strategy in Central America" (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, May/June 1984, $3)

Gregg Herken

COUNSELS OF WAR

The story of the experts and advisers—scientists, academics, and think-tank strategists—who have helped determine American nuclear arms policy since Hiroshima.

In a front-page review the Washington Post Book World welcomes

"A very important book

...Brilliant...incisive...The focus of Herken's compelling study is the cluster of scientists and strategists on campuses, in government agencies, and at institutions such as Rand who, ever since Hiroshima, have been thinking about the unthinkable."
—WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

"A revealing look at the experts

who have helped shape the delicate balance of nuclear terror... **A provocative attack** on the notion that only a handful of experts should make nuclear arms policy...*Counsels of War* is so meticulously researched that serious students of the complicated forces acting on today's decision makers should not ignore it."
—DAVE GRIFFITHS, Business Week

"Fascinating,"
says Adam Yarmolinksy

"Herken's canvas is filled with characters who have lost touch with reality, like the generals who proposed to destroy Eastern Europe in order to facilitate a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union, or the civilian analysts who belittled (and continue to belittle) the consequences of a major nuclear exchange."—St. Petersburg Times

Published by Knopf

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

The Berkshire Forum
ANTHROPOLOGY OF MAINSTREET, USA
SEPTEMBER 13 TO 15
With Johnnetta Cole Hunter College
This is one in a series of weekend vacation workshops which run through December, offering intellectual stimulation in a beautiful, rural New England location.
For schedule and lodge reservations: Berkshire Forum, R.D. 1, Stephentown, NY 12168. (518) 733-5497.

Los Angeles celebrates
VOICES OF RESISTANCE
An evening of new song with Inti-Illimani, the renowned Chilean ensemble, and Sabia.
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 8PM
Robert Frost Auditorium
4401 Elenda, Culver City
Tickets $10
For information, (213) 470-0898 or (818) 505-9817.

Palestine Human Rights Campaign
National Conference
"JUST DON'T SAY YOU DIDN'T KNOW!"*
SEPTEMBER 20 TO 21
Chicago
PANELS:
Celebration Honoring Former Palestinian Prisoners
Israel: The Global Context
Israeli Right-Wing Violence & Palestinian Rights
"Just Don't Say You Didn't Know!"—The Campaign for Palestinian Rights
SPEAKERS: (partial list)
Israel Shahak, chairperson
Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights
Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, University of Haifa
Muhammad Hallaj, editor Palestine Perspectives
Adrien Wing, National Conference of Black Lawyers
Grace Halsell, author Journey to Jerusalem
Jane Hunter, editor Israeli Foreign Affairs
Special Invited Guest: **Bassam Shaka'a**, Mayor of Nablus, Occupied West Bank
ENTERTAINMENT: **Mustafa al-Kurd**, Palestinian folk singer from Jerusalem
Americana Congress Hotel, 520 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago. For more information write: PHRC Conference, 220 S. State Street, #1308, Chicago, IL 60604, or call (312) 987-1830.
* Conference title taken from a 1982 poster (available from PHRC) which was printed by Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Birzeit University.

GET THE WORD OUT THROUGH THE NATION
At $35 an inch an event ad reaches 60,000 subscribers.
To find out the circulation in your area, call Neil Black at (212) 242-8400.

carefully analyzes the U.S. role as it has developed under Carter and Reagan. Nairn explores the likely scenarios of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua in the context of lessons Pentagon analysts have learned from the Vietnam War. He quotes a U.S. diplomat in Honduras who said in March 1984:

> The *contras* are strictly an instrument of pressure. Some people around here and in Washington really thought—and still do, I guess—that they could incite an insurrection and overthrow the Sandinistas. . . . The theory was that we couldn't lose. If they took Managua, wonderful. If not . . . the Sandinistas would react one of two ways. Either they'd liberalize and stop exporting revolution, which is fine and dandy, or they'd tighten up, alienate their own people, their international support and their backers in the United States, in the long run making themselves much more vulnerable. In a way, that one was even better—or so the idea went.

For up-to-date, comprehensive information on the U.S. military role in Central America and on the military forces of Nicaragua and other countries in the region, see *On a Short Fuse: Militarization in Central America* (Caribbean Basin Information Project, Washington, D.C., $4) and *Invasion: A Guide to the U.S. Military Presence in Central America* (National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex/American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, $2). *Invasion* includes a glossary of aircraft, weapons and equipment used in Central America, listed by supplier company, making it a valuable tool for research and organizing around the corporate connection.

The Departments of State and Defense regularly churn out propaganda on Central America to win the hearts and minds of U.S. citizens. There's *Misconceptions About U.S. Policy Toward Nicaragua*, produced by the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean in June, which disinforms us that "Unlike the Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador who have concentrated attacks on economic infrastructure, the Nicaraguan armed opposition has attacked very few economic targets and has sought to avoid civilian casualties." The joint State and Defense Department booklet *The Soviet-Cuban Connection in Central America and the Caribbean* devotes a whole page to grainy photographs of Daniel Ortega in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, East Germany and Poland. A chart showing the Pentagon's guestimates of "Soviet-Bloc Military Deliveries To Nicaragua" in tons—tons of ammo, tons of tanks, tons of helicopters?—puts the first major increase in Soviet aid in 1982, when *contra* attacks were intensifying, not before, as Reagan rhetoric has it.

The Central Intelligence Agency's famous instruction booklets in terrorism for the *contras*, the comic-book style *Freedom Fighters Manual* and *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*, are now readily available in the United States. The former has been published by Grove Press ($2) and the latter by Vintage ($4.95) with essays by Joanne Omang and Aryeh Neier.

Blood of the Innocent: Victims of the Contras' War in Nicaragua, by Teofilo Cabestrero (Orbis Books, $6.95), represents the testimony of sixty civilians in northern Nicaragua, including North Americans and Europeans, "who had been the victims of kidnappings, bloody ambushes, rapes, and other kinds of assault by the contras, or who had survived the slaughter of their family or civilian friends." In the words of one survivor, "They're not trying to liberate the country, they're trying to murder it!" Other important accounts of *contra* attacks and atrocities are *What We Have Seen and Heard: The Effect of Contra Attacks Against Nicaragua*, by Witness for Peace of Washington, D.C. ($1.50); *Violations of the Laws of War by Both Sides in Nicaragua 1981-85*, by Americas Watch ($8); *Contra Terror in Nicaragua*, by Reed Brody (a revised version of a report by the Washington Office on Latin America, forthcoming from South End Press, $7.50); and *On Trial: Reagan's War Against Nicaragua*, the testimony of the Permanent People's Tribunal, edited by Marlene Dixon (Synthesis Publications, San Francisco, $9.95). There have been repeated *contra* My Lais in this undeclared war, which has already claimed the lives of a higher percentage of the Nicaraguan population than the U.S. lost in the Vietnam War. Nobody in the United States should be able to say they didn't know.

The pace of war against Nicaragua has been slowed—however inadequately—by hostile public opinion and organized public opposition. *Central America 1985: Basic Information and Legislative History on U.S.-Central American Re-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lations (Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, Washington, D.C., limited copies, $20) is a lengthy, comprehensive briefing book prepared for Congress and concerned organizations by the coalition and by the Commission on U.S.-Central American Relations.

An alternative U.S. policy, written in language geared to debate in Congress and the media, is put forth in *Changing Course: A Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean*, by Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., 1984, $5). The principles underlying PACCA's work are nonintervention, self-determination, collective self-defense, peaceful settlement of disputes, encouragement of human rights and democracy and support for equity and development. (Unfortunately PACCA sets a poor example with its all-male list of report drafters.) See also "Contadora: A Text For Peace," in *International Policy Report*, November 1984 (updated June 1985), an analysis by the Washington-based Center for International Policy of the September 1984 Contadora Draft Agreement which Nicaragua accepted but the United States rejected.

Solidarity With The People Of Nicaragua, by James McGinnis (Orbis Books, $7.95), is a valuable resource for anyone interested in solidarity work. McGinnis stresses partnership, not paternalism, in solidarity, and describes numerous projects: Witness for Peace, the Pledge of Resistance, work brigades, nonprofit coffee trading organizations, children's projects, medical aid, MADRE women's friendship programs, town pairing and more.

There is a Latin American saying about the United States: "They never remember, while we never forget." The publications reviewed here are not about the many times this country sent troops, advisers and funds to control Nicaraguan destiny in the past. They are about contemporary U.S. efforts to destroy a new Nicaraguan government and society, born of a revolution the United States could not prevent. In this period when Congressional debate over Nicaragua has narrowed along lines which favor the Reagan Administration—"They're the devil!" "They're devilish, *but*!"—it is more important than ever to become literate in the complexities of Nicaraguan social change and speak truth to falsehoods. □

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS AVAILABLE

EAST VILLAGE. Share a quiet, two-bedroom apartment. Nonsmoker. $475 per month. Call Neil Black at (212) 242-8400 days, (212) 260-5154 evenings.

APARTMENTS DESIRED

PROFESSIONAL COUPLE moving to New York City seek sublet, furnished or unfurnished, for 9 months or longer. One or 2 bedrooms, up to $900 per month. Manhattan or PATH connection. (212) 929-0123.

NATION EMPLOYEE and cat seek rental or one-year sublet downtown or Hoboken. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

NEW NATION INTERN looking for a sublet, September through December. Manhattan, Brooklyn, Hoboken. $350 per month or less. Call Jim Naureckas (212) 242-8400.

BOOKS

HOW TO SELF-PUBLISH YOUR BOOK & MAKE IT A BESTSELLER, Melvin Powers. $10.50 postpaid. The McCoy Company, 6161 Busch Boulevard, Suite 330TN, Columbus, OH 43229. Guaranteed.

NUCLEAR DEVIL'S DICTIONARY exposes the language and logic of nuclear policy. Satanic satire, 385 definitions, 44 editorial cartoons, 7 Pulitzer Prize winners. Satisfaction guaranteed. $7.95 postpaid. Usonia Press, Box 19440-C, Diamond Lake Station, Minneapolis, MN 55419.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

BOOK SEARCH: We find scholarly, general out-of-print and rare books. Free search—reasonable prices. Please address requests: METROPOL BOOKS, Box 1374, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025. (212) 865-8195. Lists welcome.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, psychodynamically oriented, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Apply now for fall 1985 sessions. Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living, and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 70 Greenwich Avenue, No. 559, New York, NY 10011. (212) 777-1197.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MISCELLANEOUS

MAKE REMEMBERING EASY with Occasional Reminder Service. Box 491250, Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33349. For information send SASE or 25 cents.

JESUS PROSPERS—CONQUER debt, loneliness, fear. Stamped envelope to: Box 20173, Cherokee Station, 1539 First Avenue, New York, NY 10028.

ORGANIZATIONS

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. Apply for 1986 summer legal interns for your organization. Contact National Lawyers Guild Summer Projects, 1205 Smith Tower, Seattle, WA 98104.

WOMEN INTERESTED IN STUDYING MARXISM. New York City. Knowledge helpful. Feminist background required. Group forming in October. Nation Box 33.

ATTEND U.S.—NICARAGUA Colloquium on Health. Unique opportunity for exchange with Nicaraguan health workers. All types of health workers are needed for teaching, fact-finding and tour components of conference. Project of Central America Health Rights Network. Call (415) 431-7760, or write Colloquium, CHRICA, 513 Valencia Street, No. 6, San Francisco, CA 94110.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with The Nation? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

ORGANIZATIONS

NEW ENGLAND ATHEIST: stay informed, meet others. Information $1. American Atheists, Box 147, East Walpole, MA 02032.

RADIO UNNAMEABLE CABAL, WBAI PACIFICA. If the words "good morning, cabal" ever meant anything to you; if you ever listened until "bye-bye, I wuv you," you are a member of the cabal in good standing. I want to establish a network of all of us; object: fun and social change. Shall we have a Party? Please send name, address, phone number to: Bob Fass, WBAI, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles. 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

PROGRAM COORDINATOR. National coalition of 55 religious, peace, and social action organizations seeks Human Rights Program Coordinator to organize and facilitate national grassroots and Capitol Hill strategies on human rights issues, with special emphasis on U.S.—Central America policy. Experience in local organizing essential; congressional work desirable. Send resume, cover letter, and writing sample to: Cynthia Washington, (N) Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 712 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. No phone calls. Deadline: September 27.

BUSINESS MANAGER for public interest magazine. Send resume to: Multinational Monitor, Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036.

MARKETER. Third World news agency in New York City seeks marketer for special human rights projects. Sales/business experience a must. Journalism background preferred. $18,000 a year plus benefits. Send resume to: The Nation Box 47.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

HIGH SCHOOL OR COLLEGE STUDENTS—The Nation is looking for part-time clerical assistance 2 or 3 afternoons a week. $4.50 an hour. Send letter describing skills to Neil Black, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.

PUBLICATIONS

SOMETHING NEW FROM PITTSBURGH. LABOR'S POINT, Part 1, a popular history of a city of working people. For your copy send $7 to Labor's Point Press, Box 81855, Pittsburgh, PA 15217.

EVERY STUDENT should read GUARDING THE IVORY TOWER: Repression and Rebellion in Higher Education. Lucha Publications, Box 12671, Denver, CO 80211.

THE PEOPLE. Socialist biweekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4/one year, includes free pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment." $1/four months. The People (N1), 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

TECHNOCRACY - TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

LABOR AND RADICAL HISTORY. Catalogue of rare and out-of-print books now available. Metacomet Bookshop, Box 2479, Providence, RI 02906.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

PUBLICATIONS

INDEXES OF THE NATION 1976 to 1980 are now available. All articles from this period are indexed by subject, author, and title, with the book reviews and reviewers indexed separately. $6 per year (price includes postage). Make checks payable to The Nation and send order to: The Nation, Index, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Issues from 1976 to 1980 are also available.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS. William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40. Make checks/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Hiss," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TRANSCRIPT AND TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, 1983, can be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Make checks/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call (212) 242-8400.

REAL ESTATE

KENTUCKY MOUNTAIN PROPERTY. 50 miles east of Lexington. Secluded, perfect for retreat. 120 acres. $60,000. Call (503) 581-1277.

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call (805) 687-6000, ext GH-3596 for information.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4. Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

136 + BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS, 49 Biblical Absurdities, More! $3. Crusade Publications, Box 200-U, Redmond, WA 98052.

T-SHIRTS

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT SALE!

First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt

WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE

CORONA GRAPHICS
DEPT. 115
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920

SPECIAL
2 For $13.95 PPD!

$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL
Visa & MC

TRAVEL

MARAZUL TOURS. Largest U.S. operator of tours to Nicaragua. One- and two-week study programs scheduled throughout fall and winter. 250 W. 57th Street, New York, NY 10107. (212) 582-9570, (800) 223-5334.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

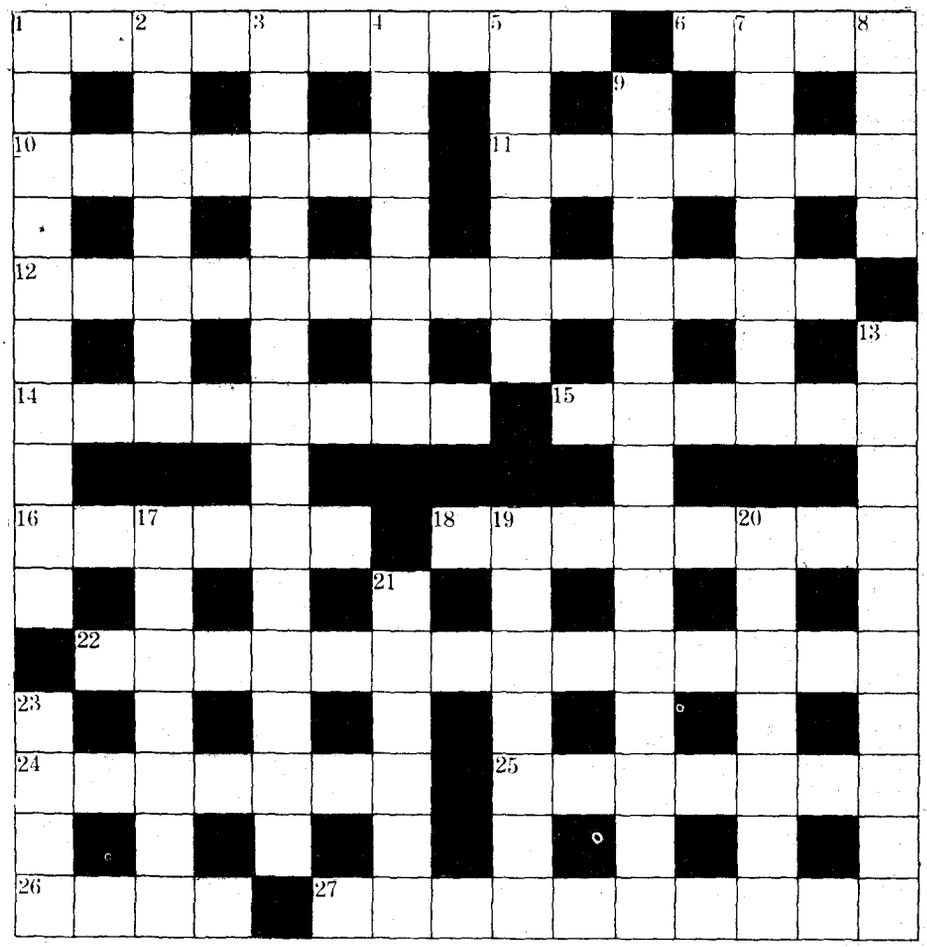
Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 2068

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Perhaps describing the blond as being sort of starry about brew concocted of fruit. (10)
6 The noise of hair being cut? What a thrill! (4)
10 A little arbiter with certain Indians proves false. (7)
11 When things are so beaten, does one get a 6 out of them? (7)
12 Would locking the barn door too late be an example? (Might be made finally in all you survey.) (5,2,7)
14 Robs one of the French jewelry, as some think they say in Brooklyn. (8)
15 If you want to know where the office of this magazine stands, you might have to take the Fifth. (6)
16 A thing to be averse to? (6)
18 Rail-birds? Bird-rails, rather—for those who prize things. (8)
22 Not recommended in the case of theoretically fertile eggs. (14)
24 Looks somewhat like Miss West around the lower part of the face, but a real operator might be familiar with one. (7)
25 The teen sort—about eleven—grand, as they might say, but you might find it pressing. (7)
26 Trio arrangement, possibly associated with an old English act. (4)
27 Pasture shade. (5-5)

DOWN

1 A film party, or what might be closed on account of bugs? (6,4)
2 Gets the company organized again, with what some crusaders are trying to accomplish. (7)
3 Sprinkle what you might see when on foot, though one crawls along. (5,9)
4 From the sea, fuel might be refined, describing the state of the rest. (7)
5 The upshot of getting luster out of it? (6)
7 Might be decorated with brass and other metal. (You might see it when under fire.) (7)
8 Wires that go with dolls on the stage? (4)
9 Blasphemous literature? (What's the connection with letters?) (7,7)
13 The old band leader Stan has to make music inside the palace, perhaps. (10)
17 Joe is troubled, but middling wealthy—particularly in town, which apparently didn't hold up well. (7)
19 They might stay with you, but sound a little as though they might be false. (7)
20 Deep in the heart of Texas—or Kansas! (7)
21 Look! Here's fruit to press! (6)
23 Nothing to damage with expert intent, as one might say! (4)

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. Find out why "little skipper" is a "truant." Send for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's Ground Rules to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2067

■	F	R	E	S	H	A	S	A	D	A	I	S	Y	■
G	■	O	■	E	■	N	■	B	■	M	■	T	■	F
R	E	L	A	X	■	T	H	E	■	D	A	N	U	B	E
U	■	L	■	A	■	I	■	T	■	Z	■	D	■	A
B	L	O	W	P	I	P	E	S	■	E	V	I	L	S
S	■	N	■	P	■	A	■	■	■	■	■	O	■	T
■	■	■	K	E	Y	S	I	G	N	A	T	U	R	E
F	■	L	■	A	■	T	■	I	■	L	■	S	■	D
A	W	O	R	L	D	O	F	G	O	O	D	■	■	■
I	■	T	■	■	■	■	■	A	■	N	■	C	■	S
E	T	H	I	C	■	M	O	N	O	G	R	A	P	H
N	■	A	■	H	■	O	■	T	■	S	■	N	■	E
C	U	R	V	A	T	U	R	E	■	I	D	A	H	O
E	■	I	■	F	■	N	■	A	■	D	■	D	■	L
■	C	O	N	F	I	D	E	N	C	E	M	A	N	■

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LOCAL ONE UNION AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS LABEL NEW YORK X-523

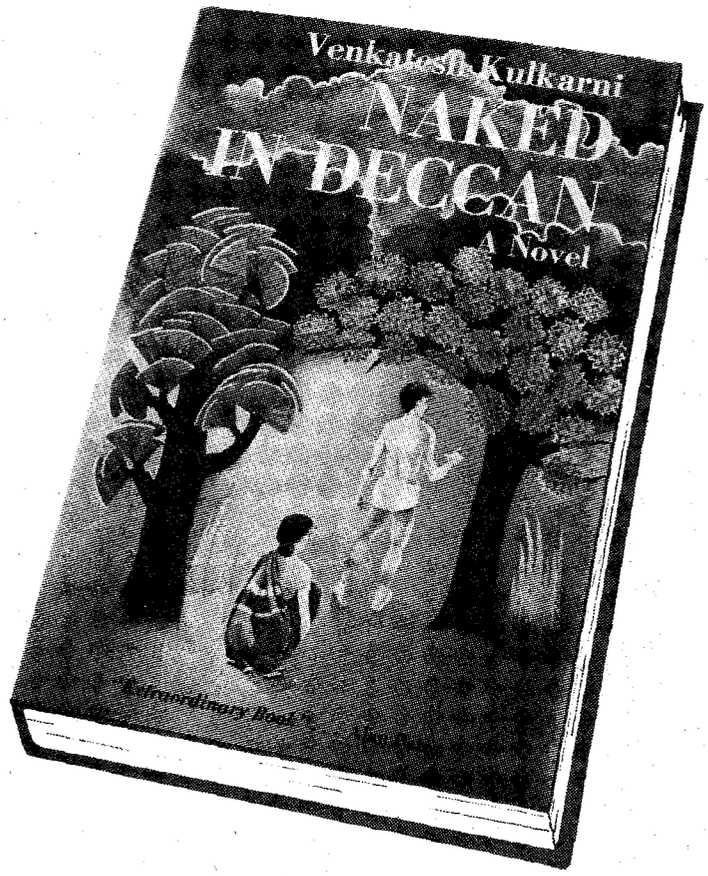
LOOKING FOR ATTENTION?

The Nation's classifieds work. They locate highly qualified job candidates, sell books and magazines, publicize counseling and legal services, promote travel programs. For under $20 you get the attention of The Nation's 200,000 dedicated readers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

★★ *Best Sellers* says, "Read this novel --TWICE!"

BCF American Book Award Winner
Venkatesh Kulkarni's
NAKED IN DECCAN



★★ Praised World Wide

"An Extraordinary Book."
Alan Paton, SOUTH AFRICA

"With spare and passionate language the author shows us the great complexities of India and presents them with searching philosophical intensity."
Bloomsbury Review

"Funny, moving, poignant, beautifully crafted. A classic."
Baltimore Sun

"A strikingly original work exploring a number of important issues. Characters authentic; landscape vivid and concrete; fine realism and deep sensitivity. Best of Indo-Anglian and International Literature."
Nihal Fernando, AUSTRALIA

"Like Ignazio Silone. The prose is sinewy, stark but replete with stunning flourishes. ***Naked in Deccan*** *exhibits a literary talent which may become a force in shaping fiction in both India and the West."*
World Literature Today

"The work of an Indian Gabriel García Márquez."
Drs. Ivo Gay, HOLLAND

"Reveals an India totally different from usual fictional presentations."
American Library Association's booklist

"Very powerful; showed me an India I had not met with before."
Walter Allen, ENGLAND

"A very superior novel; a perceptive commentary on Indian culture and social order." **Perry Westbrook, AMERICA**

"Kulkarni's novel, ***Naked in Deccan,*** *ranks him with the palace builders. Original, enriching."* **Houston Chronicle**

"Poetic, sensitive. Brilliantly balances the realistic and the symbolic." **Shiv Kumar, INDIA**

★★ A TRULY HEROIC TALE

Naked in Deccan was refused by a record 375 publishers over a period of seven years before its first edition was published by the fine humanities publisher STEMMER HOUSE and immediately went on to win the BCF American Book Award for "literary excellence." Now the author has been invited to be a principal speaker at a major international conference (NOVIB) on "The Third World: past, present and future," to be held at The Hague in October 1985. His theme: **"Naked in Deccan** as a socio-cultural document of our times." **Naked in Deccan** has also just been published by the distinguished UNIEBOEK group in Holland. Soon **Naked in Deccan** is expected to be published in thirty-four languages, Eastern and Western.

SEND ME _____ Copy/ies of **NAKED IN DECCAN.** Hardcover $13.50 each

NAME (please print) _____ Signature _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Payment Enclosed ○ Mastercard No. _____ Visa No. _____ Expiration Date: _____

R & R SELLERS, 10603 Ranier, Houston, Texas 77031

To Order By Phone Call (713) 541-1712

By the same author next year

ALLAH BAKSH: THE MAN EATEN BY GOD, a 1986 Release

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED